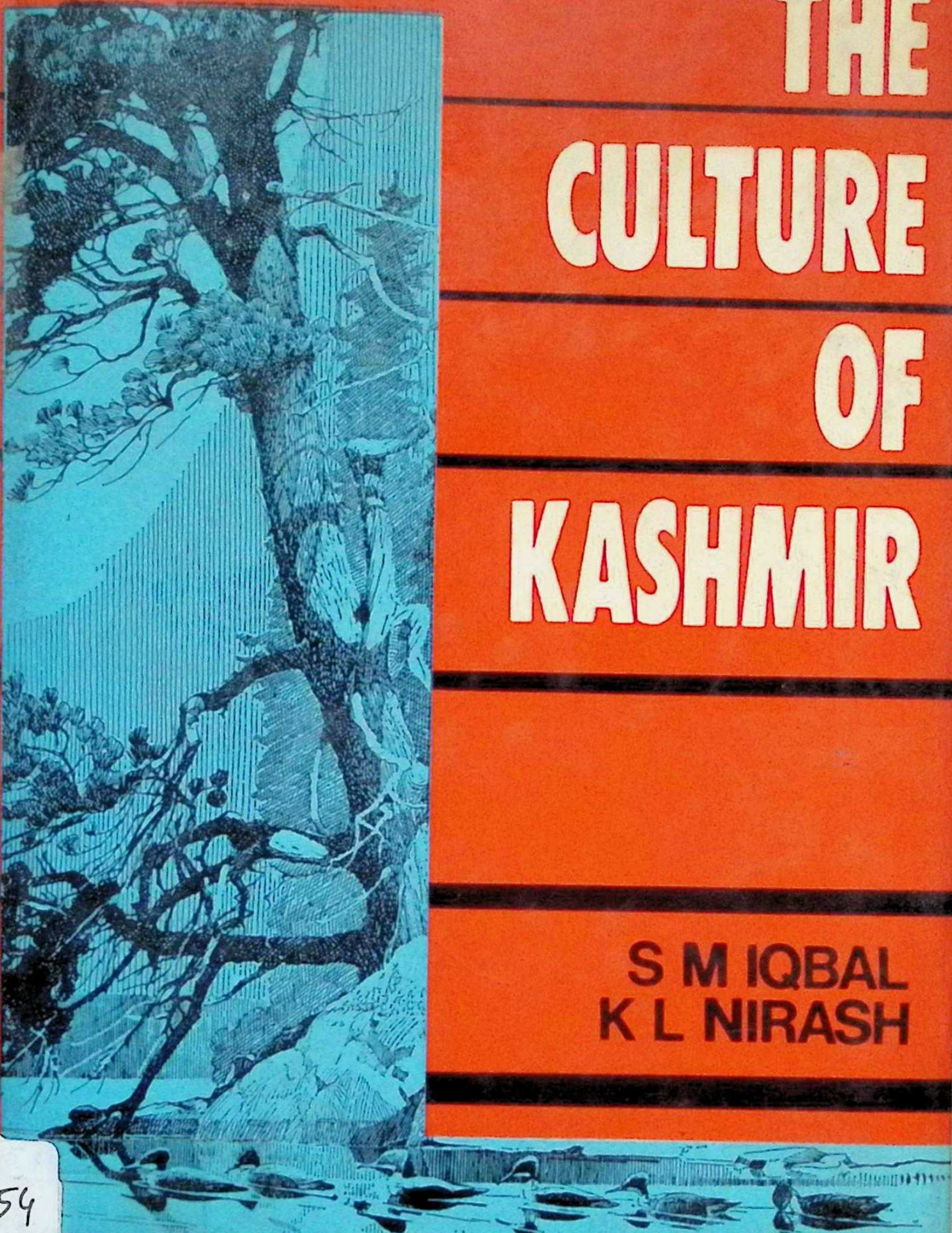
THE CULTURE OF KASHMIR



S M IQBAL
K L NIRASH

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Every nation has a distinct cultural heritage of its own which is different from that of any other nation. The culture of India, too, has its peculiar traits. Besides, it is a variegated culture, with each region or state having its own culture or sub-culture.

This book is a modest attempt to present a composite picture of the culture of Kashmir. The authors deal with variety of subjects like Races, Rituals, Language, Literature, Philosophy etc. and in the process give a peep into the life and culture of Kashmiris.

There is a useful bibliography at the end which contains a list of books by foreign scholars who happened to visit the valley in the past. These books are an authentic record of Kashmir's socio-economic, cultural and political past.

The first of its kind, this book should serve as a useful introduction to the culture of Kashmir.

Rs. 50.00

THE CULTURE OF KASHMIR

The Culture of Kashmir

S. M. IQBAL
K. L. NIRASH

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K. L. NIRASH

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We take the liberty of
Dedicating this book
to Hon'ble Mr. S. M. Abdullah
Chief Minister
Jammu & Kashmir.

Preface

We owe no apology in presenting THE CULTURE OF KASHMIR which is, perhaps, the first book that gives a complete picture of our culture—past and present. So far, hardly any book available deals with all aspects of our culture.

We have, therefore, made a humble attempt in editing this book. The authors of the various articles have tried their best to present their respective subjects as lucidly and clearly as possible. The book, however, cannot be said to be a comprehensive guide to our culture.

We take this opportunity to pay our gratitude to the following for their co-operation that made this book possible.

The authors of various articles in the book.

1) The Editor, *The Cultural Digest*, Narparistan, 2nd Bridge, Srinagar, Kashmir.
2) The Director, Research and Libraries, Srinagar, Kashmir.
3) The Secretary, The Cultural Academy, Srinagar, Kashmir.
4) The Director of Information, J & K., Government, Srinagar, Kashmir.
5) The Editor, *Kashmir Today*, Srinagar.
6) The Director, Sharda Peetha Research Centre, Karan Nagar, Srinagar, Kasnmir.
7) The Lalla Rookh Publisher, Srinagar, Kashmir.
8) Dr. Mohd. Yasin, Head, Department of History of Kashmir University, Srinagar, Dr. R. K. Kaw, Lokesh Koul T.T. College, Srinagar, Dr. (Miss) Krishna Mohan, (Late) Mr. Mani Ram Sharma, Prof. K. N. Dhar, Prof. S. L. Pandita and Pt. N. K. Kalla.

We are thankful to Mohd. Murtaza Ali Ansari, M. A., Lib. Sc. Who took keen interest in going through the book and who also prepared the index.

S. M. IQBAL
K. L. NIRASH

9th February, 1978.

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4) The Director of Information, J & K Government, Srinagar, Kashmir.
5) The Editor, Kashmir Today, Srinagar.
6) The Director, Sharada Peetha Research Centre, Karan Nagar, Srinagar, Kashmir.
7) The Lalla Rookh Publications, Srinagar, Kashmir.
8) Dr. Mohd. Yasin, Head, Department of History, Kashmir University, Srinagar; Dr. B. K. Kaul, Lecturer, Kaul T. T. College, Srinagar; Dr. (Miss) Krishna Mohan, (L. M.) Mr. Mohd. Ram Shaheen; Prof. K. N. Dhar, Prof. S. L. Pandit and Dr. N. K. Kotru.

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S. M. IQBAL
K. L. NIRASH

9th February, 1978

The Contributors

1. R. C. ARORA : B.Sc (Agriculture). He is the author of "Kashmir, The Land of Celestial charms", 1955.
2. LALLA ROOKH PUBLISHER, Srinagar has published "*Key to Kashmir*".
3. K. L. NIRASH : He is a lecturer in one of the Colleges in Srinagar.
4. NAND LAL CHATTA : He is Retired Sub-Editor (Research) of "The Collected Work's of Mahatama Gandhi".
5. KASHMIR TODAY, Srinagar is a monthly publication of the Information Department, Jammu & Kashmir Government.
6. Dr. R. K. KAW is an eminent Sanskrit Scholar of Kashmir & worked as Head, Post Graduate Department of Sanskrit, Kashmir University, Srinagar.
7. Dr. (MRS) MADHVI YASIN. She is Lecturer in History, Post Graduate Department of History, Kashmir University.
8. Dr. B. N. PANDIT : He is a Sanskrit Scholar & teaches Sanskrit at Himachal Pradesh University, Simla.
9. Swami RAJANKA LAXMANA. He is a saint and a Sanskrit scholar. He resides at Ishbar Shaiva Ashram, Shalimar, Srinagar.
10. J. N. GANHAR : He is retired Director, A. I. Radio, Srinagar and the author of "BUDDHISM IN KASHMIR".
11. P, L. TRAKROO : He is M.A., Sociology from Punjab University, Chandigarh

12. ABDUL HAMID "Safiq" : He is a lecturer in Education, Govt. Degree College, Anantnag.

13. ABDUL KHAN is a scholar and a professor.

14. D. N. NADIM : He is a famous Kashmiri poet, now working as Principal, "Lal Ded Memorial High School. Srinagar"

15. ABDUL HAMID MALIK. He is a Professor of Economics.

16. WALTER LAWRENCE : He is the author of *The Valley of Kashmir*.

17. Pt. SUDHARSHAN KASHKARI is the author of "The wit of Kashmir".

18. Dr. S. D. AHMAD is Ph. D. in History.

19. Dr. S. M. IQBAL was the Director of Research & Libraries, Srinagar.

20. Dr. (Miss) Krishna Mohan is the principal of Govt. Women's College, Jammu.

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CHAPTER I

The Vale of Kashmir

R. C. ARORA

The Vale of Kashmir is picturesquely set in the lap of the snow-clad Himalayas with such an unrivalled combination —nowhere excelled of vast expanses of flat country with rich alluvial soil, lofty and glacial mountains, crystal streams, lofty crags, torrents, broad lakes, shady Chenar groves and pine forests, that this valley is one of the most beautiful spots in the world.

The happy Vale of Kashmir is renowned most for its wonderful air, lovely scenery and excellent beauty. This is that happy valley where one can make life most enjoyable to different tastes and interests. This is that valley where spring appears in all its glory. This is that fairy lotus-land where the lotus blooms to greatest perfection. This is that happy valley where trees like chenar and poplar are most beautiful at all stages. This is that happy valley before which the title "Eden of the East" blushes and poets find inspiration and artists undreamed beauties of colour and scenery for the brush. This is that valley where one can find the pleasure gardens around the Dal lake and think of the glory of Akbar, the pomp of Jehangir and the charm of Noorjahan, whose association with Kashmir is a lasting tribute which they paid to the lovely scenery which can be found nowhere else other than in the fairyland of Kashmir—the land of Nature's beauty, 'thoughts wilderness,' 'the Terrestrial Paradise of the Indies,' which old

Bernier said "surpassed in beauty all that his warm imagination had ever anticipated" It is here in this beautiful valley that lofty hills, snow-capped mountains, beautiful glaciers, flat country interspersed hither and thither with fields and fruit gardens are all exhibited close to each other and provide for everybody's taste and interest. An even greater thing is this, that the valley possesses in a grand scale, a variety of scenes, climate, fruits and vegetables and so one can never get bored with dullness. One can have innumetable changes and does not require to spend much time and money in moving from one place to the other. There are many lakes in Kashmir situated on thousands of altitudes both among the mountains and in the valley. The most important are the Wular and Dal in the Kashmir valley.

The climate of Kashmir valley is healthy and invigorating, its amazing wealth of flowers and fruit blossoms is undescribably beautiful, and the grand panorama of surrounding snow-capped mountains, with peaks ascending to about 28,000 feet, is one of the grandest in the world. The natural beauty, the scenery on mountains and lowlands is enhanced by the gorgeous display of blossoms on immense number of fruit-bearing trees of many varieties.

The Kashmir valley is famous for fruits which are renowned for their durability, juiciness and flavour throughout the whole world. The Kashmir valley is well-known for its production of excellent fruits such as apples, peaches, pears, plums, cherries, strawberries and various other fruits which grow in Europe. Jams are made from many fruits. Tea, cinchona and hops are also cultivated. Kashmir produces many crops, the chief being rice, maize, wheat, barley, millets and pulses which can thrive without much rain due to great humidity in the valley. Other things of importance are saffron, *banafsha* and *silajit.*

The people are very skilful and manufacture beautiful woollen fabrics, celebrated shawls, excellent carpets etc. and these are now an established industry in Kashmir. Embroidery on various material—shawls, numdas (floorcloth), sarees (silk loose garments) etc has become an art of exquisite nature. Puttoo, an imitation of tweeds, is largely exported from Kashmir and affords a cheap suiting. Wood carving is an ancient craft of the country and very fine example of architectural work are still to be seen in some of the old mosques. The Kashmir silversmiths are good craftsmen. Copper-smiths are equally good too and place in the market various designs of materials of a good finish. The silk industry is a special feature of Kashmir where stands one of the largest and biggest silk factories in the world. Besides this happy valley of Kashmir, there are many side-valleys like Lidar, Lolab, Sind, etc. which are the continuation of the Happy Valley. They too have grand scenery, excellent climate and forests of pine and deodar.

The Kashmir valley is 84 miles long and 24 miles broad with an area of about 4,500 sq, miles at an altitude of 5,200ft. The main portion of the valley of Kashmir, so much renowned, is the central part of the Kashmir Province and is enclosed by Pansal, Pir Punjal, Darwar, Harmukh and Sonmarg mountains. Kashmir valley is said to be under the water of a mighty lake where there was no human habitation but some demons, as regarded by people, used to live whom a saint, Kashyap after whose name Kashmir is called, defeated them and conquered this country. Later on, he as a great engineer of the time, widened the passage of the River Jhelum (near Baramulla) after cutting the rocks on both sides of the river. This fact as well as a large number of streams, fountains, rivers, and lakes found throughout the whole of the valley testify that Kashmir might have been once a sheet of water. Be it a myth or story, an inference or a fact, with this reference it is left to investigators to decide whether this Valley was a sheet of water.

The river Jhelum for the major portion of its course in the valley runs in a serpentine curve and on its bank stands Srinagar the Capital of Kashmir.

Historical Introduction To Kashmir

Kashmir has been a part of Indian Empire from remotest times. It was a part of Ashoka's Empire. Ashoka founded the city of Srinagar. As a matter of fact, the history of Kashmir is more a chronicle of kings, courts, and conquests. After the commencement of the Christian Era, the valley was invaded by Tartars and Budhism became the State Religion. In 16th century A. D. came the White Huns. Hiun Tsang visited Kashmir during 629—631. Lalitaditya was the most famous of the later Hindu Kings who subdued many kings in India and upto Central Asia. He was a patron of art and culture. After him, dynastic revolutions followed and ultimately the valley passed into the hands of the Muslim Rulers.

Sultan Zainulabdin (142—70) was a famous Muslim ruler who is said to have introduced paper making, sericulture and shawl manufacture in Kashmir. Akbar, the Great Moghul, conquered Kashmir in 1586 and established the rule of law and order. Jehangir and Shahjahan founded many gardens and trees here. After 1748, Kashmir passed into the hands of Afghans who ruled cruelly till 1819. From 1819 to 1846, Kashmir remained under the Sikhs.

After the fall of the Sikh Power due to war with the English, Kashmir passed into the hands of Gulab Singh, Raja of Jammu and lieutenent of Ranjit Singh on payment of Rs. 75 Lakhs to the British (Amritsar Treaty, March 16, 1846).

Maharaja Gulab Singh died in 1857 and was succeeded by his son. Maharaja Ranbir Singh who was in turn succeeded in 1885 by his son Pratap Singh Maharaja Hari Singh succeeded his uucle Pratap Singh in 1925 The Indian subcontinent was divided into India and Pakistan in august 1947. Kashmir was free under the Indian Independence Act to join either of the new dominion or to remain independent Kashmir had not made its choice when the impact of Tribal invasion of Kashmir by Pakistan in Oct. 1947 broke up the administration of the Maharaja. People suffered heavily. Sheikh Mohamad Abdulla leader of Jammu-Kashmir National Conference mobilised the people in a heroic resistence to the invasion. And also under this grave peril, the State, having no alternative, applied the Govt of India which sent unparalled quick assistance to halt the wanton invasion of the state of Pakistan. Yuvraj Karan Singh, s/o Maharaja Hari Singh, the last ruler is the first head (Sadar-i-Riyasat) of the state under a new dispensation.

The Climate of Kashmir

KASHMIR possesses a variety of climate owing to the widely differing altitudes, for instance Jammu has tropical heat being on the same altitude as the Punjab, while Kashmir situated in the sub-tropical area is subject to an extraordinary variation of temperature and there is a proverb in Kashmir "one must have fan and fur together." Dr. Arthur Neve, Late Surgeon to the Kashmir Medical Mission writes from his life's experience of Kashmir that "the climate of Kashmir is quite eminently suitable for Europeans. We ought rather to say the 'climates' of Kashmir, for as much variety, whether in temperature or humidity etc. can be obtained in different parts of Kashmir as in the whole of Europe, from the shores of the Mediterranean to North Cape."

The climate of the vale of Kashmir is most salubrious and invigorating. Dr. Neve further writes, "the climate of the valley until quite the end of May, is similar to that of Switzerland. As a whole, the climate of Kashmir is much better suited to invalids than that of many other Indian Sanitorium. For chest cases, it is more suitable than the climate of England. For convalescents from acute disease, for those who are weakened by prolonged fever or overstrain, for the early stages of consumption, nervous disease, dyspepsia etc. Kashmir is eminently suitable during the summer and autumn."

Kashmir is gifted with the world's finest lakes and springs. The springs charged with effects of herbal soil are abundant. Water of "Ch ashma Shahi" spring is regarded as being able to cure digestive troubles of every kind. For the benefit of my readers I give here some usefulh ints about the various health resorts and springs in the Kashmir valley.

Kookernag spring water is useful for pleurisy and asthma and the general climate of the place is suited for lung complaints.

Achhabal spring water is useful for bladder and kidney troubles and low appetite and the general climate is useful for lung complaints. Ganderbal spring (locally called Bihuma) water has proved useful in cases of all kinds of fever particularly tuberculous ones. The climate of Manasbal is useful for patients Suffering from tuberculosis.

The climate of Pahalgam has proved efficacious for patients suffering from cough and tuberculosis, low appetite, dyspepsia and physical debility. Gulmarg possesses very good climate (but its water is not good like others). Tangmarg at the foot of Gulmarg and Batote on the Banihal road are very useful for lung complaints and there are sanitoria for tuberculosis patients at Tangmarg and Batote. The water of the Harwan which is the main source of supply for Srinagar induces constipation. The sulphur-springs at Islamabad, Woin, Khru, etc., are useful for skin diseases. Sonmarg is also very good for general complaints. The elevation of Gulmarg and Sonmarg (8500) is too great for many of those who suffer from heart disease and are susceptible to asthma.

Owing to its high altitude and presence of mountains the climate of Kashmir is never very hot and from October to April. it is intensely cold. The summer commences in May but the heat scarcely exceeds that of South Italy. Gradation of climate is obtainable at different places at one time, for instance, the mean temperature at Srinagar in July is about 75°, in the Lidar or Sind valleys at a height of 7000 ft. the mean never exceeds 65°; at Gulmarg or Sonmarg in Sind or Aru in Lidar, all above 8000 feet., the average daily temperature never exceeds 60°; and the mean temperature in July never exceeds 50° at 10.000 or 12,000 feet and also extremes of cold are met with at higher altitudes.

The spring in March and April is windy and cold and trees are laden with flowers. The summer in May and June is quite pleasent, flowers begin to fall and visitors begin to come to Kashmir, but after the middle of June visitors leave Srinagar for colder places like Gulmarg, Pahalgam, Sonmarg etc. as July and August are unpleasantly warm at Srinagar. At the end of August visitors begin to return to Srinagar for shopping or visiting beauty spots in the valley and its neighbourhood. The autumn is clear, fairly cool and most pleasant of all. In November, there is usually saffron bloom and withering and falling off of flowers and leaves. At the end of December there is an early fall of snow. In January and February, snow falls in enormous quantities on the mountains and also the lower parts af the valley are seldom entirely free from snow which is one foot deep. The Banihal Jammu route is blocked for traffic in winter and for a couple of days the Rawalpindi route is also blocked due to snow falls at Murree.

Temperature at Srinagar

Month	Degrees in Fah.	Mean	Month	Degrees in Fah.	Mean
Jan.	15—45	35	July.	55—90	80
Feb.	20—50	40	Aug.	45—85	70
March.	30—60	48	Sept.	45—70	60
April.	35—80	55	Oct.	35—60	50
May.	45—85	65	Nov.	25—50	45
June.	50—95	75	Dec.	20—45	40

The average rainfall of Kashmir is much less than any other Himalayan Hill station and never exceeds 27 inches at Srinagar. The Monsoon breaks in Kashmir in July and August but due to the Pir Panjal range, rainfall into the interior of the State is very scanty being 10″ at Dras and 4″ at Leh. In June thunderstorms are frequent. Rains are heavy in July and August with frequent intermission of sunshine. Earthquake tremors of light intensity rock the valley.

CHAPTER II

Races and Tribes

LALLA ROOKH PUBLISHER, SRINAGAR

Jammu and Kashmir, with its area of 84,471 square miles, is the home of various races and sects whose history goes back thousands of years. Many are the strange and interesting customs and social usages prevailing among them and any detailed account of their history would fill a volume. It would have to take into consideration ethnic and physical factors such as the diversity of race and religion, and the influence upon the peoples' development of the vast mountain barriers and the network of rivers and hill-torrents cutting one part of the country off from another and tending to restrict mutual intercourse and confining the various population groups within limited and isolated areas. In the present chapter only a bird's-eye view of the major sections of the population is possible.

The hilly tract extending to the plains of the Punjab from the snowy mountains bounding the Kashmir Valley on the south is called Dugar. It is the home of the Dogras, a hardy people divided into several castes and sects, both Hindu and Musalman. Belonging to the Aryan race, they speak the Dogri language, a mixture of Sanskrit, Punjabi and Persian words, deriving its origin from the Indo-Aryan branch of Sanskrit.

There are numerous sub-castes among the Dogra population of Jammu, the salient feature of all being the hardiness of the people. Their staple food is rice, wheat and pulses. The observance of common festivals like Basant, Nauroz, Sair and Dusserah testifies to an extraordinary spirit of tolerance and goodwill amongst both the Hindu and Muslim Dogras, as well as members of other castes. They dress in a short coat or freely-flowing shirt, with pyjamas loose to the knees and tight-fitting downwards. The men generally wear a light turban and tie a *kamarband* at the waist. The women dress in a tight-fitting bodice or jumper with pyjamas similar to those of their menfolk and a shawl or a *duppata* thrown over the head.

The Brahmans of the Jammu province depend upon agriculture which provides the main source of their income and the calling of religious ministers and priests is confined to a comparatively small number of families. It is strange in this part of India to behold Brahmans holding a position economically inferior to that of the Kshtrayas, most of them being tenants-at-will of the Rajput landlords. They are a peace-loving people and have always borne the hardships of life with a cheerful disposition. They have been greatly benefited by the Land Reforms Act of the present Government.

The Dogra Rajputs are not tall men; their average height being five feet four. Of slim build, they have somewhat high shoulders and curiously bowed legs and, though not muscular, are active and untiring. The colour of their complexion is a light shade of brown, rather darker than the husk of the almond. The women because of their less exposure have a brighter tint. They possess well-formed features, composed of a slightly hooked nose, wellshaped mouth and small brown eyes.

In character the Rajputs are simple and child-like. They cling to their prejudices ; and the clan spirit, so common among mountaion folk throughout the world, persists among them in the hard and fast rules of the *Biradari* system. They can endure long marches and stand the cold climate very well. Among the Muslim Rajputs, the Chibbalis and the Sudans are the chief sects. They also are a brave people and make the army their profession.

Khatris and Mahajans form the backbone of trade and commerce in the Jammu province. They are less good looking than the Rajputs and less inured to physical hardship. But they are men of judgement, and literacy has made great progress among both men and women.

The working Rajputs and Thakkars follow agricultural pursuits. They are backward in education and loathe even to improve their farming methods.

Lastly, there is the class of Harijans called Meghs, Chamiars and Dumbs. They form a more than fair proportion of the population of Jammu and have undergone numerous disabilities, civic and religious, at the hands of the high-caste Hindus. The levelling influence of education, which engenders tolerance and fellow-feeling, has, however, paved the way for a steady improvement of their social status. There are several interesting theories regarding the origin of the Meghs. According to one, they were originally Khatryas but, in order to escape destruction at the hands of paras Ram Brahman of the Ramayana period, they adopted the profession of weaving and called themselves Meghs. Another theory holds that their progenitors were Brahmans but a cow once died in the house of one of them and, there being nobody to remove the carcase, this odious task was undertaken by a member of the caste who was subsequently expelled from the community. Others also suffered a similar fate for one reason or another and the expelled individuals came to from the separate caste of Meghs.

The Harijans are a community with clean habits and mostly follow the calling of agriculture. Only a few are cobblers or scavengers. With the spread of education, they will rise.

Between the outer districts and the borders of the Kashmir Valley is a hilly country inhabited by a virile and active people called the Paharis. Hardy and of powerful frame, they lead a rough life, eking out a sustenance by terrace cultivation on the slopes of barren hills. Poor communications with the outside world and between the different villages (this being due to the difficulties of the terrain) have served to keep them poor. The language they speak is a mixture of Hindi, Punjabi, Dogri and

Sanskrit words. They dress in grey woollen coats with *kamarband,* and wear loose pyjamas. The women are clad in long gowns tied with a *kamarband,* their attire being completed by a cap and shawl. Into this region have come the Kashmiris as settlers, inhabiting large tracts of the country and adopting the same dress. A mixture of the Pahari and the Kashmiri languages is spoken by them.

Anothar interesting hill people are the Gujjars. The climate and pasture of certain altitudes are favourable for rearing cattle and sheep and from ancient times the Gujjars and their neighbours, the Gaddis, have been breeders. They lead semi-nomadic lives, moving in summer with their herds and flocks from the warm regions of Jammu. They are then to be found in parts of Kashmir, building their flat-topped houses on seemingly inaccessible heights and being everywhere perfectly at home with their animals. They are said to be Rajputs who migrated from Rajasthan and adopted the Muslim faith. Their language, Gujjari is now definitely recognised to be a form of Rajasthani. Their outdoor life spent in some of the healthiest parts of the country, and their nourishing diet of bread made from corn with milk and butter as other constituents of their daily food, result in their being a long-lived people. They are a fine tall race, with a decidedly Jewish cast of features. Their good faith is proverbial and they are generously disposed. Fairly well represented in most parts of Jammu and Kashmir, they muster strong in Poonch, Riasi and Muzaffarabad districts.

Kashmir Valley

The true people of Kashmir valley are physically a fine race, the men being tall and well-built. They are an ancient race with complexions varying from olive to a ruddy and fair hue. The features of all are well-shaped and regular. Lively and intelligent, the people of the Valley are full of fun and fond of amusement. The beauty of their women has been long and much extolled.

Numerous explanations, some of them verging upon the fantastic, have been advanced to account for their origin. For example, one theory puts them down as being descendants of one of the lost tribes of Israel, this perhaps being suggested by the Jewish cut of features to be found among some of the older people who look the patriarchal type. The following note by Alberuni almost clinches the matter :

> "They (Kashmiris) used to allow one or to foreigners to enter their country, particularly Jews, but at present they do not allow any Hindu whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people."

According to the legend, as mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* and the *Nilamatpurana,* the Valley which was a vast mountain lake was drained by Kashyapa Rishi who imported Brahmans and sages from India to live here. In those prehistoric days, it is said, tribes of *Pishachas* and *Yakshas* were living here. They used to give trouble to these Brahmans, who in order to escape their wrath followed the instructions of the author of the *Nilamatpurana* of giving presents of food etc. to them off and on to win their friendship. The festival of *Khichiamavas* is still observed by the Kashmiri Brahmans on the 15th day of the dark fortnight of Poh (Dec.-Jan.) when *Khichri* is cooked in every house and kept outside in new earthen pots as present to the *Pishachas* and *Yakshas.*

The student of *Rajatarangini* will have no hesitation to admit that before the advent of Islam in the 14th century, the population of Kashmir was not entirely Brahman. We find the names of several sects namely *Nishads, Khashas, Dards, Bhuttas, Bhikshas, Damras, Tantrins,* etc. who constantly gave trouble not only to the rulers of the country but also to the Brahmans. How and wherefrom they came is a long study in itself. That the Kashmiris form a branch of the race which brought the languages of Indo-Aryan type into India, is a fact established by the evidence of their language and physical appearance. But the period of their immigration and the route they came by are still moot points among the authorities on the subject. Suffice it to say that they have till now preserved a distinct form of culture and in ancient times produced a civilisation which would have made a greater mark in the world's history, had there been a possibility of better and easier intercourse with the rest of the world.

Yet during the long and chequered history of Kashmir, there have been periods when the people came into contact with the Indian, Roman, Greek and Persian civilisations resulting in a happy blending of cultures at once tolerant and sympathetic towards the ideas and beliefs of others. The Kashmiris demonstrated it practically. When forins tance, Brahmanism replaced the earliest forms of Naga worship there was the least tinge of religious persecution. On the other hand the Nagas are even to this day venerated by the general populace in the various springs. Buddhism came into ascendency in the second century B.C. and in contrast to the religious feuds in the rest of India we find that Buddhist kings and ministers built *viharas* and temples dedicated to Hindu as well as to the Buddhist deities. And when Buddhism had its day, the change was marked by a conspicuous absence of force or bigotry, Similarly in the 14th century A.D. Islam entered Kashmir and as usual the broadminded Kashmiris welcomed its exponent, the great Shah Hamadan, with open arms and the synthesis of Hindu and Islamic religious thought found its greatest exponents in Lalleshwari and Sheikh Nur-ud-Din who are even to this day venerated by Hindus and Muslims alike. During the darkest periods of religious persecutions by ignorant and fanatical foreigners, the people of Kashmir lived like brothers, giving what little solace, shelter and comfort they could, to their brothers in distress.

The Brahmans, popularly called Kashmiri Pandits, form a distinct class of their own and are considered to be the purest specimens of the ancient Aryan settlers in the Valley. During their numerous political vicissitudes they have suffered enormously at the hands of religious persecutors, Subsequently, during the long and peaceful reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin most of them returned to their original home-land. They studied the Persian language and regained their tarditional occupation, namely, government service, which was held by them throughcut the later periods of Moghul, Pathan and Sikh rulers. The new-comers assumed the appelation of *Bhanmasi* in contradistinction to *Malmasi* which the indigenous inhabitants had assumed, the *Malmasis* observe the "lunar" and the *Bhanmasis* the "solar" form of astronomical calendar, They, however, have no restriction with regard to inter-marriage, etc. The *Karkuns* or government servants having given up the study of Sanskrit in favour of Persian, employed their daughters' eldest sons as their priests who were called *Bachibhats*. In course of time, the *Karkuns* and *Bachibhats* became two sub-castes, intermarriage between the two being restricted. The Kashmiri Pandits are divided into 133 exogamous *gotras*, each member of which claims to be a descendant of a *rishi* whose name the *gotra* bears. Generally, the social position is determined by the nature of occupation followed, rather than by the *gotra*. Those who have been employed in superior state service since two or three generations hold their heads high above others.

Although claiming to be the offspring of *rishis* and belonging to the highest branch of Brahmans, the Saraswats, Kashmiri Pandits take meat freely in strange contrast to the observance of strict vegetarianism by the Brahmans all over India. This small community is highly advanced in education, more than 70% of their members being literate. Their chief occupation is government service. In India many well-known administrators and politicians have been Kashmiri Pandits. In the field of art, philosophy and literature, they have produced a galaxy of authors, savants and saints. They possess the knack of adapting to changed circumstances at short notice and during the present time are adopting new avenues of profession.

Sikhs are another small community. Before 1947 they were chiefly concentrated in the Muzaffarabad district. Recent developments have forced them to migrate to other parts of the State. Most of them were originally Brahmans imported by Raja Sukh Jiwan and were converted to Sikhism in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. They are a hardy people and mostly agriculturists, Recently they have taken to the military and police service of the State.

An overwhelming majority of the people in the Valley professes Muslim religion. The advent of Islam during the 13th and the 14th centuries surely but slowly changed the social structure of the Kashmiris ; but they maintained their traditions of love and tolerance. The influence of Islamic art from the directions of north and south is responsible for the development of the many industries for which Kashmir is famous, e.g. shawl, carpet, papier mache, woodcarving, etc. Zain-ul-Abidin is mainly responsible for the introduction of these arts from Samarqand and Bukhara, which were the centres of Islamic civilization then. Numerous Muslim saints and *derveshes* propagated their religion through the preachings of the purest and truest doctrines of Islam. They lived the religion in their lives of complete self-abnegation and tolerance to the ideas and beliefs of others. This considerably influenced the religious and philosophic thought of the Kashmiris who adopted the new order in greater numbers. The Persian language and literature, first introduced into Kashmir by Zain-ul-Abidin, further enriched the cultural treasures of Kashmir resulting in a synthesis of the Hindu and Muslim civilizations. Kashmiris attained a great proficiency in the new language and literature and produced eminent poets and scholars like Ghani, Sarfi, Fani, etc. In the development of Kashmiri painting, architecture, music and poetry, Muslims played a prominent part. The Hari Parbat fort and the bastion wall, the Jumma and Pathar Masjids, Pari Mahal and world-famous Moghul Gardens are living testimonies to the outstanding contribution of Islam to the art and thought of the Kashmiris.

"The Musalmans of the Valley", says Lawrence, "may have retained for some time after their conversion to Islam, some of the Hindu customs of endogamy within the caste and exogamy outside the gotra, but there is no trace of these customs now and the different tribal names or *krams* are names and nothing more."

It is now possible for *Dar* to marry a girl of the *Ganai kram* and vice versa, provided both are agriculturists. The intermarriage among the low caste *wattals* or scavengers is still a taboo. There is, however, a sort of caste system prevalent, in as much as the members of one profession prefer to marry their sons and daughters among the followers of a similar profession. Thus it is very rarely that goldsmiths *(sonars)* and blacksmiths *(khars)* contract marriages among themselves. The old *krams* or nicknames of Pandit, Bhat, Dar, etc. are, however, still retained and new ones also added by reason of the speical calling of the head of the family or any of his ancestors or because of such peculiar circumstances which may have occurred to him.

"For instance", says Pandit Anand Koul, "a man, named Wasdev, had a mulberry tree growing in his courtyard and, therefore, he was called Wasdev Tul (mulberry). He, in order to get rid of this nickname, cut down the tree, But a *mund* (trunk) remained and people began to call him Wasdev Mund. He then removed the trunk of the tree but its removal resulted in a *Khud* (depression) and henceforth people called him Wasdev Khud. He then filled up the depression but the ground became a *teng* (mound) and he was called thereupon Wasdev Teng. Thus exasperated he gave up any further attempt to remove the cause of his nickname and it continued to be *Teng* which is now attached to the names of his descendants."

The *Sheikhs, Sayyids* and *Pirzadas* are still considered to be *krams* of respectability among the Muslims. *Mullahs* or priests, though not numerous, are a class by themselves and every village has got a family or two to minister to the religious needs of the people and to officiate at the birth, marriage or death ceremonies. Recently they have taken to agriculture also ; but otherwise they live by the free gifts of grains bestowed on them by the villagers at hervest time.

The Muslim population of the Valley is divided into the Sunni and the Shia sects, the former being in a preponderating majority. In certain Tehsils and villages there is, however, a concentration of Shias. They have monopolised the papier mache trade and during the hey-day of the shawl industry they were the proprietors of shawl factories. Since there was an unbalanced economy between the shawl weavers who were generally Sunnis and the capitalists, numerous Shia-Sunni riots took place then, the interested parties lending a religious tinge to these.

There are some settlements of Pathans and Moghuls in certain parts of the Valley reminiscent of their rule ; but now they have been absorbed in the general population of the country, the appelation of *Khan* and *Sirdar* being only names.

The Bombas and Khakhas are the inhabitants of the Jhelum Valley below Baramulla. They were a source of constant terror to the Kashmiris till Maharaja Gulab Singh subdued them. They used to carry out marauding expeditions into the Valley and even now mothers quieten their crying children by saying that *Khakhas* have come. They now follow the peaceful vocations of agriculture and trade.

There are tribes like Dums and Galwans which were once considered inferior to others. They have now acquired wealth and their social status has risen. Wealth alone now commands position and poverty at once degrades a family.

Chaupans, the hereditary shepherds, who tend the sheep and cattle of the villagers during the summer months by taking them to green pastures on the various *margs* of high altitude, are a class of cheery, active men strictly marrying among themselves. They do not allow any outsider to usurp their hereditary calling. They have a most characteristic whistle and their healthy robust life in the high mountains makes them a lovable people except, of course, to their village clients who often have to be at their mercy with regard to the return of their sheep, etc. The Chaupans have some knowledge of simple herbs and bring them down for the poor villagers. In winter and early spring they live in the villages, where sometimes they possess a little arable land. Just like the *Mullah* the Chaupans get their remuneration at the time of harvesting of crops in the shape of grains and cash.

The Bands or Bhagats correspond to the Mirasis in India and carry on the profession of singing and dancing and sometimes go in bands to perform short comic plays in different villages. They add piquancy and gaiety to the otherwise dull and monotonous life of the villagers and are in great demand on marriage and other festivals.

The people with whom the visitors to the Valley generally come in close contact are the hanjis or boatmen of Kashmir. They are an ancient race and the *Rajatarangini* often mentions the *Nishads* (boatmen) and boat bridges. Some claim Noah as their ancestor but it is generally believed that they were Khashtryas before their conversion to Islam. They still disdainfully refer to a novice at boatcraft as a Shudra. There are many classes of boatmen known according to the boat they ply and live in. The *bahts* (barge) boatmen have recently taken to timber and grain trades and with the rise in their standard of life have acquired a respectability over other hanjis. The doonga and house-boat hanji looks cleaner and can speak English and Hindustani fairly well. He is intelligent and at a very short notice can perform the duties of an accompolished butler or an expert cook, a seasoned shikari or an experienced guide. Most of the visitors owe their happy and trouble-free holiday in the Valley to the hanji, though he is more sinned against than sinning. There are other classes of hanjis, e.g., Dal hanji who carry the vegetables from the garden to the market and are considered the lowest. The Gari hanji are those who collect the singhara (water nut) from the Wular lake. The Gada hanji are those who collect the singhara (water nut) from the Wular lake. The Gada hanji or fishermen are well-known for their close communal feelings and generally support their brothers in distress.

The hanjis are a strong and virile race with well developed muscles. They live a hard life cramped up in one or two small rooms in the at of their boats. Their knowledge of boatcraft is excellent and it is a pleasure to watch them punting or towing their boats up through strong and swift currents of the river.

The Kashmiri language has now been placed by Dr. Grierson in the Dardic branch of non-Sanskritic languages in his "Linguistic Survey of India". This treatment of the Kashmiri language is opposed to the popular and local belief that Kashmiri was originally the language of Brahmans and has grown out of Sanskrit. There is no script of its own but the Kashmiri language has a vast store of rich proverbs, sayings and folklore. There are some epic poems rendered into Kashmiri, as well as a good number of lyric poems. Recently the Arabic script has been adapted for its use and Kashmiri literature is growing in quantity as well as in quality.

The dress of Kashmiris has often been criticised for being effeminate and conducive to lazy habits. It is a long loose gown buttoning at the neck and falling to the ankles. In winter it is made of wool and in summer of cotton. There is very little difference between the *phiran* worn by men and women. A pyjama of the loose type is generally worn under the *phiran* and this is all the dress of an average villager. The women wear a skull cap surrounded by a fillet of red colour in the case of Muslim and a fillet of white cloth in the case of Pandit women. A shawl or a white *chaddar* thrown gracefully over the head and shoulders, more as a protection from the sun than to hide the features, completes their headgear. Men wear a turban as a sign of respectability and affluence. It is commonly worn by the inhabitants of cities and big towns. The ordinary peasant is content with wearing the long pointed skull cap. In winter a *kangri* is taken under the *phiran* to keep oneself warm. It consists of an earthen jar of about six inches diameter covered with a basket of wickerwork. Charcoal cinders of a special type are put in it to give a constant and a continuous heat.

There is a story current among the Kashmiris that Emperor Akbar, enraged at the dogged resistance offered by the peopele of the Valley to his general, Qasim Khan, forced them to wear the effeminate *phiran* in order to degrade them. Otherwise it is said that before the advent of the Moghul rule they wore a short coat and trousers. A crusade launched against its use by patriotic Kashmiris has resulted in the change among certain classes to the graceful sari and shalwar, in the case of women, and coat and trousers in the case of men.

The staple food of the Kashmiris is rice. They take plenty of vegetables but the favourite dish is the *hak* or karam sag. In the cities mutton is consumed in large quantities but in the villages it is still a luxury reserved only for festive occasions. Although being inhabitants of a cold country, Kashmiris abhor the use of intoxicating drinks. They have, however, found a cheap and harmless alternative in tea which they take so often. Its preparation is also quite different, salt being used instead of sugar. Green tea leaves are boiled and to give it a pink colour a little soda bicarb is added. Every time is tea time in a Kashmiri home and the *samovar* is generally steaming throughout the day. It would be sheer discourtesy to allow even an odd visitor to leave the house without serving him with a hot piping cup of pink-coloured tea.

Having been a subject race for the last four hundred years, Kashmiris have been vilified by outsiders as cowards, liars and what not. That they displayed their military prowess in the times of Lalitaditya, Jayapida, Avantiverma and Zain-ul-Abidin and others is a matter of history. The way the Kashmiri defended his freedom and homeland against an unscrupulous enemy in 1947 has once for all buried this myth of his being a coward. Suffering untold miseries at the hands of his numerous Moghul, Pathan and Sikh masters he had to take shelter under subterfuge to save his and his family's honour and life.

"One cannot", says Lawrence, "help the thought that many races, had they lived through generations of oppression like the Kashmiris, might have been cunning and more dishonest."

Frontier Ilaqas

To the north of the Valley is the region called Dardistan inhabited by broad-shouldered, moderately stout-built, well-proportioned and active mountaineers. They are not particularly handsome but have a good cast of countenance with hazel or brown eyes.

"The word 'Dard', says Sir George Grierson, "has a long history and the people bearing the name are a very ancient tribe who are spoken of in Sanskrit literature as Darada. The Greeks and the Romans included in the Dard country the whole mountainous tract between the Hindu Kush and the frontiers of India."

From their mountain fastnesses they have often led marauding expeditions into the Valley and Kalhana gives accounts of the various punitive measures taken against them by different kings of the country. Dr. Leitner who visited Dardistan in 1866 writes :

"Whether we judge from language or from physiognomy, the conclusion is inevitable that the Dards are an Aryan race."

Though intelligent and clever they are yet furious and easily provoked.

In view of its strategic position, this region has always been coveted by different powers on its borders. But the Dards managed to maintain their independent status till the middle of the last century when Maharaja Gulab Singh and his son, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, finally subjugated them. Before coversion to Islam, the Dards were followers of Buddhism and even to this day traces of Buddhist influences can be found in most of their customs and rituals. There are still some villages in the side valleys which follow the Buddhist religion. That the Kashmiri cultural influences extended to this region and beyond is now amply proved by the recent discovery in this part of the country of birch bark manuscripts in the Kashmiri Sharda script. They are the followers of the Sunni and Shia sects. The people of Hunza are followers of Ali Ilahi faith.

Chilasis are a Dard tribe inhabiting a long valley on the west of Nanga Parbat. They are notorius for their ferocity and until 1850 used to come round the flank of the mountainous Astore Valley to plunder and kill.

The whole region of Dardistan is barren and except for small patches of vegetation near mountain torrents, little can be produced elsewhere. Wheat, barly and *grim* are grown and form the staple food of the people. It is always a deficit area in food and the Kashmir Government has to send every year huge quantities of grain to feed the population there. Fruits, particularly grapes, are grown in the Gilgit town proper.

Living as they do in a cold region, their dress is a woollen coat with a choga or a long coat thrown over the shoulders. The pyjamas are worn loose. The cap is a sort of deep bag with its sides rolled up and fitting the head closely.

A sort of caste system is preserved among these people. There are five of them. (1) Rennu or the ruling caste ; (2) Shins, a religious sect : up to the 18th century, they used to cremate their dead in the Buddhist fashion. but now they bury them, keeping a fire alight while burying, in token of the former custom ; (3) Yashkun is the largest class of agriculturists ; (4) Kremin and (5) Dum are the lower castes carrying on the same duties as Shudras do in the Hindu society.

The region to the north-east of the Valley is called Baltistan and is inhabited by a people of the Tibetan race called Baltis. Being situated in between Ladakh and Dardistan, there has been a mixture of the two races resulting in their being a little taller than the Ladakhis, Although the preponderant majority of the population profess the Muslim faith of the Shia sect, there are still some villages professing the Buddhist faith.

The Baltis are a people of good nature and great patience. Being of prolific nature owing to the pevailing custom of polygamy, they are forced to seek labour in far off places in India and Kashmir, their own land being too barren to support a larger population. They wear a short woollen coat and trousers and a small round cap. Kashmiris call their country *Tsera* (apricot) *Bhutan* from the abundance of apricots cultivated there and exported in a dry form to India.

Further to the east is the magic land of Ladakh or Little Tibet as it is sometimes called. It is the land of the ancient Bhauttas, religious followers of the Dalai Lama of Lhasa. They belong to the Tibetan race having a Turanian cast of features.

Their cheek bones are high ; from them downwards the face rapidly narrows ; the chin is small and usually retreating. The peculiarity is of eyes of which the outer corners are drawn out and the upper eyelids are overhung by a fold of the skin. The nose is pressed, so to say, into the face and depressed at the bridge. Their stature is short, generally 5 ft. 2 in. in the case of men and 4 ft. 8 in. in the case of women. But what they lack in form is amply compensated by their cheerful disposition and frank and honest dealings. They are a guileless people and it is a joy to sit in their company and partake of their hearty laughter and hospitality. They are no doubt a dirty people, perhaps due to living in an extremely cold region of the world where to take a bath is a sore trial; but they are trustworthy and affectionate. They rarely quarrel or loose their tempers even when they might be under the influence of their national beverage—the Chhang. They are willing workers and are noted for carrying heavy loads across the high mountain passes. They are clad in long woollen coats of grey colour with broad girdles of blue, red or orange, and caps of various colours, red, blue, green or even black velvet with red lining. The women have a head-dress of red cloth covering also the neck and back and closely studded with turquoises, and brooches. On either side these are balanced by large earlaps of black fur. The poorer people wear long and thick black coats and trousers, Over all, long coats of goatskin are worn. Long boots of thick felt with a leather slipper for the sole are a peculiarity of this region.

The Ladakhis are divided into four principal castes, namely, (1) Gyalpo or Raja, (2) Jinak or officials, (3) Mungrik or cultivators and (4) Ringan or menials. The majority are cultivators. A Ladakhi village has always a small or a big Gompa or monastery according to its size. It is both a religious as well as a temporal institution, the Lama generally deciding various disputes of the villagers. In most cases much of the cultivable land belongs to the Gompa and the villagers are its tenants-at-will. Every Gompa maintains a number of monks and nuns presented to it by their parents in their childhood and dedicated for life to its service. Most of these monasteries are very rich and contain valuable collections of old manuscripts chiefly on the Buddhist religion.

The custom of polyandry common among the Buddhists in Ladakh, although tending to keep down the population, has a bad effect on the nature of women. The custom is an ancient one and was tolerated because of the barrenness of the country which is incapable of maintaining a large population. It also prevented the holdings from being frittered away by partitions. The eldest brother's wife was the joint wife of his two younger brothers next to himself in age. These two brothers were called Farsukhs or minor husbands. Should there be more than two brothers the others become *Magpas* by marrying a girl from outside and then inheriting her father's property. It was a consequence of the demand from educated Ladakhis that an Act to prohibit Polyandrous Marriages among Buddhists was passed in 1941.

The staple food of the Ladakhis is *grim* which is ground into flour and eaten mixed with tea and butter as a rough paste or in the form of bread. Although professing the Buddhist faith, the Ladakhis are meat-eaters. Being inhabitants of a cold country they drink a kind of country liquor called chhang which is brewed from *grim.* With the opening of a regular air service to Leh and also a jeepable road, Ladakh is sure to prosper in the days to come.

CHAPTER III

The Culture of Kashmir

KRISHAN LAL KALLA

"NIRASH"

During their long periods of independence, isolation and solidarity, the people of Kashmir developed a unique culture making everlasting contribution to learning and literature

The Valley of Kashmir which is surrounded by the snow-clad Himalayas is one of the most beautiful spots in the world because of "vast expanse of flat country with rich alluvial soil, lofty and glacial mountains, crystal streams, lofty crags, torrents, broad lakes, shady Chinar groves and pine forests."

Kashmir was for the mos; part of time a separate kingdom. "As a matter of fact, the history of Kashmir is a chronicle of kings courts, in the times of the Tartars, the Buddhists, the Sultans, the Sikhs and the Christian rulers." Among the Muslim rulers Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin is the most famous for his benevolent qualities.

According to Dr. Neve "the climate of the valley until the end of May, is similar to that of Switzerland. As a whole the climate of Kashmir is much better suited to invalids than that of many other Indian Sanitoriums."

Jammu and Kashmir is the home of different races and sects and their history goes thousands of years back. "Many are the strange and interesting customs and social usages prevailing among them and any detailed account of their history will fill a volume. "The eminent Indologist Dr. Grierson has placed the Kashmiri language in the Dardic branch of non-Sanskritic languages in his "Linguistic Survey of India", Unfortunately, Kashmir has no script of its own, but no one can deny the fact that this language has a "vast store of rich proverbs sayings and folkfore". Persian script has since been adapted and the Kashmiri literature is growing in "quality and quantity". There is variety of beliefs and customs regarding birth, death and marriage among Hindus and Muslims. There are, of course, different in the case of the two communities.

Kashmir has rendered a valuable contribution to Indian literature, Kalhana and Bilhana are remembered for historical works. The former wrote *Rajatarangini* which throws "a flood of light not only on the history of Kashmir but also on the history of India." Bilhana's *Vikramankadava Charita* is concerned with the history of South India. Charaka and Koka studied medical and sex respectively. Vamana, Nammata, Anandavardhana, Ruyaka, Kuntala, Abhinavagupta are noted for literary criticism. Similarly, Mankha, Kshemendra, Matrigupta, Shilhana. Jhalhana, Shivaswamin and Somadeva were eminent Kashmiri writers. In short, the Culture of Kashmir is a composite one, a synthetic pattern with unity in diversity."

The Kashmiri language can claim unique position among the modern Indo-Aryan languages. "it has a considerable importance to the linguist. This is due to its "antiquity which may well go back to the Vedic times. According to a high authority, Kashmiri is of a Dardic ar Sinha source, which are Aryan languages. Kashmiri has been influenced by Sanskrit and Persian considerably. The Kashmiri proverbs are concerned about various aspects of nature, society and human life. These proverbs and sayings are often interposted into conversation by the Kashmiris. These proverbs are usually pithy, poetic and un-ambiguous, though often metaphoric utterances" *e.g.*, "*Nosh Pyayi athi ayi*"—"A daughter-in-law wins recognition (proves her worth) when she gives birth to a child.

In Kashmir, one may not be astonished to witness the Hindus and Muslims "equally holding in reverence the Hindu shrines and the Muslim Khanqahs situated closely or almost in the same premises. "The notable examples are the great Khanqah of Shah Hamdan, Temple of Kali, Shah Sahib's mosque, Ziyarat-i-Makhdoom Sahib, Hari Parbat and Madin Sahib".

Although with the advent of Islam conversions took place in Kashmir as in other parts of India, yet no one can deny that the Muslims adopted a few Hindu customs "giving in return some of their own to be adopted by the Hindus". Thus an exchange of two cultures took place. "Seldom in the history of mankind," so writes Sir J. Marshall, "has the spectable been witnessed of two civilizations, so vast and so strongly developed yet so radically dissimilar, as the Hindus and Muslims, meeting and mingling together." The ancient works like *Katha Sagar* and *Brahat Katha* were translated into Persian and Turki. The Court historian Jonaraja observes about Zain-ul-Abidin : "The King sitting on a lotus-throne in the form of Ganesha, studied the ancient works of Rishis and visited with all devotion all "Tirthas" observing all Hindu customs. During the last feeble years of the king, the court physician and Minister Shri Bhat, would read out to him passages from "Panchastavi".

One of the most beautiful and the most highly developed schools of Indian Philosophy is Kashmir Shaivism. It developed between the 7th and 12th Centuries of the Christian era. Unfortunately, Kashmir Shaivism is little known outside Kashmir, as access to Kashmir was difficult in those ancient days. There are a few translations of some minor works on Shaivism available in English. One such work is the "*Pratyabhijna Vimarsini*" of Abhinavagupta. Kashmir Shaivism is called Trika Philosophy, the three-fold scene, which is based on three energies of Lord Shiva *i.e. Para*, *Para-para* and *Apara*.

By *Para* is meant the supreme Energy of Lord Shiva. *Parapara* means the Intermediate Energy of Lord Shiva and by *Apara* is meant Lord Shiva's Inferior Energy.

Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* may be called a masterpiece of historical writing. It consists of eight books of unequal size, written in Sanskrit in nearly 8,000 verses of rare literary merit. The text may be divided into three sections :

I. Books I-III, are based on tradition.

II. In Books IV-VI, dealing with Karakota and Utpala dynasties, he has made use of works of earlier chronicles who were contemporaries of the events they described.

III. For Book VII and VIII, dealing with Lohara dynasties, he made use of personal knowledge and eye-witness accounts, the latter often perhaps received at second or third hand.

The book was written by Kalhana during the years 1148-1149. The author seems to have been of mature age from the style of the book. There is no denying the fact that Kalhana's "*Rajatarangini*" and "*Nilmata Purana*" provide excellent material for "the study of the society in earlier times." The latter presents an interesting study of the economic life, as well as of other means of recreation such as music. dancing, theatrical performance, sports, arts and crafts, dresses and ornaments, domestics, food and drinks, domesticated animals, culture and trade, political thought and organisation, army and war, religious cults, festivals and religious practices, philosophy and language."

Kashmiri literature is fond in abundance. "In the first period we have Shiti Kantha's "*Mohaanay Prakash*" Lalded's and Sheikh Nur-ud-Din Wali's "Waakh" and Bhattavataar's "*Banasura Katha*". This literature was composed upto 1555 when Sultan Habib Shah was de-throned and Ghazi Chak ascended the throne. During the period 1555 to 1752 "Persian is firmly established not only as the official language but also as the language of literature." The eminent writers of this period are Maulana Sheikh Yaqub Sarfi (1522-1594), Mirza Akmal-ud-Din Kamil and Khawaja Habib Ullah Nowsheri (1555-1617). There is no wonder that while these eminent writers wrote in Persian, songs continued to be written in Persian. During the third period (1752 to 1923) which is a prolific one, poetry took new forms. This is the age of material romance, when stories or legends of love and adventure are poetized. Here is a short list : *"Sri-Ramavtar Charit"* by Prakash Ram, *"Sri Krishnavtar Lila"* by Dinanatha ; "Gul-e-Bakawli" by Hakim Ablee Sheikh, "Heemal" by Waliullah Mattoo, "Gulrez" by Maqbool Shah Kraalwary, "Kralkoor" by Peer Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din, *"Gul-i-Bakawli"* by Lassa Khan, "Yusuf Zulaikha", and "Laila Majnoo" by Mahmood Gami, "Nala Damyanti" by Lakshman Bulbul. Other writers of this period are Abdul Wahab Parrey, Krishana Razdan and Mahmood Gaami. Parmanand wrote three long poems : "Sudhamacharita, Radha Swayamwara and Shivi Lagana."

The fourth period (1925-47) is the age of Mahjoor. "He belongs to the school of Rasool Meer and shares with him the popularity of being the best writer of our Kashmiri 'Geet' and 'Ghazal' He restored much of the native melody to our language introduced many new themes such as "My Youth" and "The country Lass" and some patriotic songs.

Master Zinda Kaul may be said to have sounded the modern note. His poetry is mostly mystical. He wrote "Vadihey Manush", "Naata Yaaree", "Joogy, "Lolas Kun", "Sumaran" and "Vanan Manz Lal".

Soon after the Partition new poets were born and they wrote on the themes of life and death struggle with a rhetorical eloquence, Dinanath Nadim's songs like, "I will not sing today"— "are stirring and unforgettable. Abd-ur-Rehman Rahi, too, is a poet of eminence and he wrote on "new themes" and experimented with "new forms". His contemporary, Ghulam Nabi Firaq also composes melodius verses in Kashmiri. There is no denying the fact that a crop of new generation of poets and prose writers and drama writers has come up and that all of them have enriched this literature considerably. The Cultural Academy has been instrumental in bringing forward some of the writers of Kashmiri prose and poetry.

So, one can say with pride that the Kashmiris inherit a culture which is older and richer than the culture of even the

Chinese and the Britishers. From ancient times Kashmir has been the centre of art, literature and scholarship. The art of drama is also very ancient. In fact, it has its origin from the performance by BAANDS, who moved from house to house, entertaining people by dance and song, on good occasions. But they were not respected in society. Later on, actors performed in Society RASLILA and in course of time it gave rise to another drama form called PATHER, which was full of satire and humour. Next religious stories began to be enacted. After independence, the Kashmiri writers began writing seriously. "The radio drama concentrated on the exigencies of propaganda. By and by many plays, skits, shadow plays and operas were written by Mr. D.N. Nadim, Akhtar Mohiudin Amin Kamil, and Roshan. Since 1958, the state academy of art, literature and languages has been organising play competitires every year in Tagore Hall and prizes have been awarded ZOONADAB is, yet, another land mark as a radio feature. It thrashes the problems that an individual comes across in daily life."

The tradition of story taling in Kashmir is, perhaps as ancient as in any Indian language. But, sorry to say, that no story in Kashmiri, had been written until the middle of the 20th Century. The first Kashmiri story was written by Som Nath Zutshi. Later on, D.N. Nadim, Noor Mohd. Roshan and S.N. Zutshi also started writing stories in Kashmiri. Most of these stories conveyed progressive ideas & did not deal with Kashmiri social life. To Akhtar Mohid-ud-Din goes the credit of using Kashmiri characters, Social life and problems around him. Humour and satire are found in abundance in these. Other writers to write stories in Kashmiri are Amin Kamil, Ali Mohd. Lone & Bansi Nirdosh, Ghullam Nabi Shakir, Umesh Koul, Shankar Raina etc.

Music in Kashmiri language is called SUFIANA KALAM. It is different to guess how & when it originated because Kashmiri music shows elements of Indian and Iranian music. After the advent of Islam, Kashmiri music may have been influenced by Iranian music. The musical instruments SANTUR used in Kashmir was invented in Iran. Many Ragas or

Mukams of Kashmiri music are present in Persian i.e. Mukam Duga, Mukam/Nawa and Singha. In the same manner many Persian words are present in Kashmiri Talas i.e. Sothal, Neemdor Chapandoz etc. Before beginning with the singing of Mukam or Raga, the Vakhyas of Hazrat Sheikh Allah & of Saint Lalleshwari are sung without TALL. Some important Sufiana Musicians are : Late Ustad Ramazan, G.M. Kalinbaft, M.A. Tibatbaka. Besides, Sufiana music, Chakri and Roff are other forms of Kashmiri music.

The people of Kashmir, both Hindus and Muslims alike have their rituals and ceremonies which may differ from those of people outside Kashmir. Kashmiri social customs are generally connected with both marriage and death. Of course, due to the changing living conditions, these rituals have also undergone change. The rituals of a pandat are :- Kahnethar, Zarakasai, Yagnopavit, Manzirat, Divagon & Lagan. In winter Kichri Amavas & Gadbhatta are observed. Similarly, the rituals of a Muslim are Azan, Takbir, Sundar & Fatiha, performed on different occasions.

Kashmir has been called, from ancient times, as RISHI-BUMI. The first Rishi Kashypa is said to have performed prayers and pemances due to which the Valley of Kashmir come into origin. "In historical times we first come across sages & savants of the highest order who lived here soon after the advent of Buddhism. The Fourth Buddhist Couucil was Convoked by Kanishka, in the last quarter of the first century A.D. Many Buddhist scholars form outside are said to have attended the deliberation among Muslim Saints, after the advent of Islam in the 13th century A.D. Muslim Rishis, like the Babas, Saiyids & Pirzadas are the chief preachers of Islam. But the Saiyids stand first in the hierarchy, the prominent among them being :- Dastgir Sahab, Nakshbanda Sahab & Hamdan Sahab. Nur-ud-din Sahab was primararily Kashmiri. Besides, the Muslim Saints, there are a number of Pirs, Fakirs & Darveshas in Kashmir. Among the Hindu Saints mention may be made of Lalleshvari, Rupa Bhawani, Rishipir & Swami Grata Bab. Mahaiyakak, Gopi Nath Bhagwan, Kashi Nath, Vidya Dhar, Sona Kak & Swami Ramju & Sumbli Baba, Mirakh Shah Sahab was a Muslim Saint.

The people of different climes in Kashmir wear different kinds of dress, that suit the climatic conditions of those places. The dress of a Kashmiri, at home, is called 'Feran'. On hills Gojars and Bakarwals wear 'Dastar', 'Kurta', 'Yezar' and 'Sadri'. A Pandit wears loose trousers and a turban, while a Panditani puts on a Frock, Sadi, Dhoti, Jamper and an old lady wears 'Taranga' on her head. A Muslim lady wears a Kasaba. Kashmiri boys and girls are very imitative of fashions from the other parts of India.

Winter is the source of hardships and poverty to the people of Kashmir. To keep off poverty, cottage industries were introduced by Budshah, Zain-Ul-Abidin. These industries are Shawl Making, Carpet Weaving, Embroidery, Paper Machine and Wood Carving, Silver Ware etc. During the long winter season, the poor craftsman is enabled to earn his living. The old ladies ply the Charkha and produce Pashmina. The People's Government, after 1947, has set up Kashmir Government Art's Emporium to encourage the Craftsmen in various ways by giving them loans and paying good price for their goods.

Kashmiris had in the past, games of their own which were cheap and suited their social set up. These are :- (1) Saza Long (2) Saza Katir (3) Tuli Langun (4) Grata Pal (5) Gor Maji Goras and (6) Kabbadi. All these games sustained our society in the past during periods of slavery and poverty. But, now, these have been replaced by modern games like Foot-ball, Hockey, Badminton, Cricket and Chess.

Some worth seeing things in Kashmir are the Mughal Gardens, Pahalgam, Gulmarg, The Houssboat and Saffron. The Houseboat is the summer haunt of visitors. Saffron flowers are used in medicine and dishes. It grows in Pampur. Kangri, the "Queen of Winter" in Kashmir is a portable firepot without which no Kashmiri can live in winter.

The Kashmiri culture has a composite character, being an ingredient of Hindu, Muslim and Buddhist Elements. It is noted for Unique architectural and archaeological monuments, as is evident from "The Ancient Monuments of Kashmir" by Shri. R.C. Kak. According to Walter Lawrence, "I have rarely been in any village which cannot show some relics of antiquity. Curious stone monuments of the old Kashmiri Temples (Kulr-Murli) huge stone seats of Mahadev (Badri Nath), phallic emblems, innumerable carved images heaped in grotesque confusion by some clear spring have met me at every term. They were the works of the Buddhists or the Pandus.........when one comes to the most recent period of the Mughals, tradition becomes more definite. And I have seen many mosques built in style unlike the present, of wooden beams with stones between mostly raised by Aurang Zeb. Some of the important archaeological remains are at Awanti Pur, Martand temples at Mattan, Budshah's Tomb at Srinagar, the caves at Bhumju the ruins at Narasthan, the ancient Hindu Temple at Pandrethan, the Temple ruins at Pattan, the ancient temple at Payech and Takht-i-Suliman and the Shanker Acharaya Temple. Kashmirian architecture has been found by scholars to resemble various Grecian Orders. Other architectural specimens are to be found at Ushakar, at Harwan. According to Mr. R. C. Kak, the mediaeval architecture of Kashmir depends for its "effect upon. (1) the simplicity and unity of its design (2) the massiveness of its blocks of lime stone and granite that were used (3) the finish of drawing and (4) last but not the least, the natural beauty of the site chosen for erection of the temple. Its main feature is a happy combination of the column and the arch. The Muslims in Kashmir were at the beginning too few to imitate an architecture of their own. The most characteristic example of their style are the Mosque at Madin Sahab, near Hari Parbat and the ruins of the Mosque at Vicharnag and Zain-Ul-Abidin's Mosque on the island in the Wular Lake."

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing discussion it becomes evident that the Culture of Kashmir has been and is unique, in a number of ways. First of all, the roots of our culture are sown in very ancient times when the westerners were just barbarians. Secondly, our cultural heritage is variegated and not confined to one branch of literature, phylosophy or art. That our culture could flowrish despite many hardships and catastrophies in the face of foreign invasions bears testimony to courage and perseverance of our ancestors. The valley of Kashmir has, therefore, been aptly called SHARDA PEETHA or the seat of learning, besides being popularly known as "Paradise on Earth". It has even been believed by some scholars to be the originating centre of civilisation. Prof. Dharmendra Nath Pal upheld the view as early as 1904 that the particular area in Asia which covers Kashmir and the Tibet table lands was the cradle of civilization, ADELUNG, the Father of comparative Philology, placed the cradle of mankind in the valley of Kashmir. "Kashmir has even attracted scholars from various countries in the past who studied at two Universities, at SHARDA & CHAKDAR. Besides there were also present Vidyamathas and VIHARAS. Buddhism was in vogue here before Asokas times (273-232 B. C.) and Kanishka convened the fourth Buddhist Councial here. So Buddhist thought nurtured in Kashmir. Kashmiri Shaivism (the PRATYA BHIJNA) is distinct from Indian Shaivism. Kashmir has also made an important contribution to sanskrit Literature and Indian Poeties. "It has been the home land of Alankara Shatra" (Rhetoric). Out of the sixteen most famous rhetoricians of India, Kashmir has produced fourteen and the rest of India only two. Vamana (750-800A.D.) Udbhatta (774-813 A.D.) Rudratta (800-900 A. D.) Mammatta (1000-1100 A. D.) etc. were the renowned rhetoricians from ancient Kashmir. Patanjali and Pingala (the former commented) on "PANINIS ASHATADHYAYA" were Kashmiris. Many ancient Kashmiris have made remarkable contribution to Astronomy, Mathematics, Medicine, Agriculture and Atchitecture etc. Later on, with the advent of Islam, in the 14th century, "Sufism" was born in Kashmir" and Hindu saint Lalleshwari and Sheikh Noor-ud-Din were its chief exponents."

Since, 1947, when India and Kashmir achieved independence great phillip has been given by the Government, by setting up the Cultural Academy and the Art Academy. A lot of literature in Kashmir has been born and now, our literature can complete with any other Indian literatures. In short, no one can deny the glory of our culture—past and present.

CHAPTER IV

Rituals and Ceremonies

"LALLA ROOKH PUBLISHER"
SRINAGAR

Coming from the same stock and possessing a common cultural heritage, the people of Kashmir have many resemblances of dress, social customs and ceremonies, though grouped among themselves as the followers of two different faiths. These resemblances in certain social customs are even connected with birth, marriage and death. The sacred shrines of both communities are situated close together and it is a frequent occurrence that the fairs at these shrines are also held on the same days. The system of *Khanadamadi*, a variant of the Hindu custom of adoption, is prevalent amoung both the communities. On all the important social functions of a Hindu, his Muslim friends and neighbours take a keen and personal interest and vice versa.

Many of these ceremonies and rituals have undergone some minor changes among both the communities due to the impact and influence of modern education and economic strains and stresses. For instance, the old system of having a grass bed for the mother at the time of her confinement has been generally discarded, thanks to the efforts of the medical practitioners who have brought home to the people the dangers of this insanitary practice. Similarly, having costly and decorative dresses for the groom and display of fire-works on festive occasions have been given up ; and it is generally found that the sumptuous and prolonged feasts with their bad economic results are things of the past.

Among the Kashmiri Pandits the birth of a male child is generally hailed with joy, while that of a girl evokes little or no pleasure, for there is the system of costly marriage dowries. For eleven days after a child is born, the family and near relatives cannot perform any religious ceremonies. On the eleventh day a purification ceremony, the *Kahnethar*, takes place. On that day, the mother of the child leaves her room. A *havan* is performed and the child given a name before this, however, on the sixth day after the child's birth, both mother and child are bathed. The bath is called the *shran sundar* and after it lighted torches of birchbark are passed round the head of the child and all persons present. The mid-wife does this, all the while repeating the phrase "*shokh ta punasun*" (happiness and more children).

Zara Kasai is the hair-cutting ceremony, performed when a boy is about four or five years old. A *havan* is perfomed and the boy's head is shaved, leaving only the *choti* at the highest point of the skull. After the *havan,* relations and friends are treated to a feast.

The *Yagnopavit*, or sacred thread-ceremony, is one of the most important ceremonies in the life of a Kashmiri Pandit. It is performed before a boy attains the age of twelve years. The sacred thread is put round the boy's neck by his *guru* and he is thenceforth, a twice-born Brahman. From his relations who are present, he begs alms for his *guru* and each gives him from one to ten rupees. All this money he gives to the *guru*. A few days earlier the *garnavai* (house-cleaning), *manzirat* (dying of the boy's hands with henna) and *divagon* (bath and anointment) ceremonies are performed. Relatives and friends invited to the accompanying feast generally make cash presents to the parents. The women sing songs daily after the *garnavai* ceremony has taken place. On the day following the main ceremony a *Kushalhoma* is performed to mark the safe and pleasant termination of this important event. The guests then return to their homes. The young married women among them each receive a few rupees as *atagat*. Their husbands are also presented with rupees, and one or two rupees are given to each child coming with the guests.

The marriage or *vivah* ceremonies also begin with the *garnavai* or house-cleaning. The *manzirat* and *dizagan* then follow. On the wedding day, the bridegroom is dressed in an *achkan* and a *pyjama* and dons a coloured turban. A procession is formed in the courtyard of his home, where he takes his stand on the *vyug* (an outline of mystic signs drawn in lime and coloured clays). The oldest woman in the house then comes out and waves lighted lamps and a pair of pigeons in a circle round his head, while the assembled relations join in song and shower coins and sugar over him. The bridegroom is next taken to the house of the bride. He may go in car or ride on a horse, with the processionists following. Sometimes, he goes in a boat. Outside the bride's home, too, the *vyug* ceremonies are performed and the wedding party are given a feast by the father of the bride. The *lagan*, or nupital ceremony, is then performed by the family priests of both the bride and bridegroom. Food is placed before the couple who both eat from the same plate. After this, hand in hand, they walk seven times round a lighted fire.

After the *lagan*, bride and bridegroom return to the latter's home. The bridegroom's party takes them in procession, the ceremony of *vyug* being repeated before starting. Arrived at the groom's house, the bride is first taken to the kitchen and the *thakurdwar*. She is then made to sit on cushions, while the assembled women burn incense and continue with their singing. The bridegroom's sister is the recipient of a good present in cash on this occasion. The next night, the young newly-married pair again go to the house of the bride's parents, where the groom receives presents from them in cash and kind. During the first year of marriage the bride's father sends her various such presents at festivals and on his own birthday, and those of his sons and daughters.

Marriages between boys and girls are generally arranged before they pass their 20th year. The parents of the bride and the bridegroom are the final persons to choose the match. Go-betweens get the horoscopes of marriageable and suitable boys to the father of the girl and if the horoscopes of a boy and the girl tally, inquiries are instituted regarding the social status and the economic position of the family of the boy. The appearance, health and education of the boy today generally out-weigh all other considerations. Before the marriage ceremony, another custom, that of *vak dan*, has now come to the fore, when the parents of the bride and the bridegroom, accompanied by their near relatives, meet in a common friend's house and after partaking of sumptuous tea, solemnly agree to the marriage of their respective son and daughter.

Most of the ceremonies connected with the death of a Kashmiri Pandit are similar to those performed by the Brahmans of India, though in Kashmir these are more elaborate. The dead boy is washed and wrapped in a white shroud. A brief *shradha* ceremony is performed before the dead body is carried to the cremation ground. There the ceremony is more elaborate, taking in some cases five or seven hours. Before the dead body is put on the pyre a *nirvana* ceremony with invocations to the Bharavs and chantings of hymns and mystic sounds is performed. The funeral pyre is lit by the son of the dead or by the nearest relatives. After the dead body is consumed by the fire, the mourners return. Before entering the house a fire is lighted at the *ghat* round which the mourners walk after taking a bath in the river. For ten days *shradha* ceremonies are performed at the *ghat* every morning and on the 10th day the son or the chief mourner shaves his head to indicate the end of mourning. On the 11th and 12th days more *shradhas* are performed, and then every month for the first year. After this yearly *shrdhas* are performed. In all these ceremonies priests get a good share in cash and kind given in charity for the peace of the soul of the departed.

The Kashmiri Pandits hold customary ceremonies on many riligious festivals. The most important of these festivals is the *Shivratri*. It commences from the first day of dark fortnight of *Phagan* (Feb.-March). From the 5th to the 9th day house-cleaning and washing of the clothes is done. On the 10th day money according to the customary scale is sent to the daughters. On the 11th day fried fish and bread are cooked in the house and after a brief ceremony the whole family partake of the food. On the 13th day the head of the family needs a fast and performs the *puja* of Shiva during the night. The 14th day is the feast day. The elders are given presents of sugar or fruit by the younger ones; and cooked rice and meat are sent to the daughters. On the 15th day or first day of the succeeding fortnight, walnuts consecrated at the *puja* are distributed among relations and friends.

Sont or the Spring Festival is celebrated on the 15th of March every year. A basket of unhusked rice, with bread, a rupee, a pen-case, a cup of curds, a few walnuts, cooked rice and some flowers are kept overnight and seen the first thing in the morning on waking up by the inmates of the house. Each picks up one or two walnuts which are dropped in the river after bathing. Generally a fair is held in some open ground of the village or city where the youngsters play games and the women enjoy the new blossoms and the warm sunshine.

Naw warih or the New Year's day falls on the first day of the bright fortnight of *Chet* (March-April) and the custom of unhusked rice, etc. being seen in the morning as on *sont* is observed. The sons-in-law are invited and given a feast, and on return to their homes are given money presents. A big fair is held in every village or a town where Kashmiri Pandits are living in good numbers. New clothes are generally worn on this day.

Baisakhi is also celebrated by the Kashmiri Pandits of Srinagar. A fair is held at *Ishabar* where people generally take a purificatory bath and then visit the nearby Nishat Bagh for a picnic. It is from that day that officially fountains and cascades begin to play in the various old Moghul gardens for the ensuing season.

Jeth Ashtami or the 8th day bright fortnight of Jeth (May-June) is sacred on account of the birthday of the Goddess Ragnia. On this day a fair is held at the sacred spring situated at the village of Tulumula. Thousands of people flock thither and spend the night praying and singing around the spring.

Har Nawami or the 9th day of the bright fortnight of Har (June-July) is the birthday of the Goddess Sharika whose shrine is situated on the Hari Parvat hill in Srinagar. From early morning people in their thousands go round the sacred hill and also attend a big *havan* performed in honour of the Goddess there.

The Birthday of LORD KRISHNA is celebrated on the 8th day of the dark fortnight of Bhadon (Au.-Sept.) when every Kashmiri Pandit keeps a fast which is broken at moonrise. Presents of various fruits and cash are sent to daughters on this day.

Pun is a ceremony held in honour of the Goddess Lakshmi. Bread is prepared in each household on any auspicios day during the bright fortnight of Bhadon and, after performing the necessary religious rites, is distributed among relatives and neighbours.

Kambari Pach or the dark fortnight of Assuj (sept.-Oct.) is entirely devoted to the *shradha* ceremonies. A *shradha* is performed in memory of the departed *pitris* on the days corresponding to the *tithi* of the day of his or her death.

Dusserah or Vijay Dashmi on the 10th of the bright fortnight of Assuj is celebrated as the day of victory of Rama over Ravana. Effigies of Ravana, Kumbkarnan and Meghnad are burned at sunset on this day. The ceremonies held are exactly similar to the once held in the rest of India.

Many of the ceremonies connected with the birth of a Muslim child are akin to those among the Kashmiri Pandits. For instance, visiting shrines, calling the aid of saints and *dervisaes* and keeping religious fasts by childless parents in order that they might be blessed with children are common customs. One or two months prior to the time for the confinement, the young wife generally goes to her parent's house where she gives birth to the child. Immedaitely after the event the *Mulla* comes in and taking the infant by the right ear, wishpers the *Azan* welcoming the new arrival to this world of faith, and then he repeats in the left ear the *Takbir* and adds a warning that death is the end of all things. The young mother fasts for one or two days during which she takes only an infusion of certain herbs. On the seventh day which it known as the *sunder* day, the mother bathes and the child is given its name. The name is given by the *pir* of the family, the name generally given being suggested by the month in which the baby is born. Thus a boy born in the month of Ramzan, Shaban or Rajab will most likely be called Ramzan, Shaban or Rajab. A boy born in the month in which a great saint died will be given that name. Thus Sultan is probably the name of a boy who was born in the month in which the great saint Mukdum Sahib died. Among the common names of girls may be mentioned Fazli, Mali, Mihri, Janu, Daulti, Rahmi, Fritsi, Sundri, Zuni, Mukti, Ashumi, etc. On the seventh day the barber is called in and shaves the child's head, and the neighbours and relatives are entertained in the feast. Two or three months later the mother returns to her father-in-law's house carrying with her presents, among which may be a calf or a pony or a mare.

At the age of four or five years the child will be circumcised and this is an occasion of great rejoicings and festivities. The child's feet are dyed with *henna* on the *manzirat* night and the relatives and friends invited to a good feast. For seven days before the ceremony, there is nothing but singing and feasting, and on the day of circumcision the child is placed on a basket under which a cock is cooped, the perquisite of the barber who performs the circumcision. All friends and relatives kiss the child's hand and give him money after which the guests go off to a shrine with the boy and return to house for a feast. Among the ordinary folk and *hanjis* the custom of taking the boy round the main thoroughfares of the city or the town on horseback or in a boat followed by his relatives and singing parties is quite common.

The Musalmans, if possible, marry their daughters to some near relations and, if this is not possible, they ask some man of their own tribe who has more sons than money, for a boy whom they take into their house (*khana damad*). The custom of *khanadamadi* is prevalent among cultivators and *hanjis*. Among the high class Musalmans this system has lately been given up and now marriages are arranged even outside the circle of relatives and friends.

If a mariage with a near relative cannot be arranged, the father of a girl who has reached the year of puberty calls for the

डा. डिल्ली रसपा

services of a go-between, who is usually a man who can relate highly-coloured stories of the magnificence and generosity of his client. When a suitable match has been found the ceremony of bertrothal is held. The boy's father goes with a small party of relatives and friends with presents to the girl's house and is entertrained by the girl's father. After the feast the priest, in the presence of the party, announces the betrothal, and sometimes commits the contract to writing. Afterwards on the four chief Muslim holy days : Id Ramzan, Id Qurban, Miraj Sharif and Urs Nabi, the boy's father sends presents to the girl which, in the case of high class gentry, are reciprocated with bigger presents to the boy from the girl's father. When the day for the final marriage is fixed, the boy's father sends a cash present as *lagan cair* to the girl's father. For a week before the marriage, festivities and rejoicings are held in the houses of both the boy and the girl and invitations are issued to relatives and friends. The day before the marriage, the boys father sends a quantity of *mendi* dye to the bride who paints her hands and feet with the red colour. On the marriage day the bridegroom, after a bath, dresses himself up like a Sultan and decks himself with the best clothing he can afford himself or borrow from his friends. His relatives give him presents of money, and then he and his party set off, riding or walking. First, they visit some neighbouring shrine and say their prapers and then do reverence to the graves of the bridegroom's father or grandfather. After that they make for the bride's house sending on ahead presents and the palanquin in which the bride will return. As they draw near the bride's house the women of the bride's party come out, singing the song of welcome and praising the bridegroom's qualities. When the whole party is assembled the gorgeous groom sits on cushions and the feast commences winding up with tea. After the feast, the Qazi proceeds to business and if the marriage contract was not written before, he writes it out, receiving a few rupees for his pains. Before this is done, however, the two fathers of the contracting parties fix the amount of *mehr* or dowry according to the custom of the family. Meanwhile the bride and her friends are examining the wedding presents and when all is ready the bride with her hair done up and in her best dress is carried by her brother or maternal uncle into the palanquin and followed by a party of singing women, departs with her husband. In her father-in-law's house, she is received with great enthusiasm and parties of singing women come out to greet her ; and she is taken into a room arranged for her reception where she takes her seat with her gaze fixed on the ground. When her mother-in-law comes, she salutes her and gives her some presents brought from her father for her. The bride remains for seven days in her new home after which she returns to her father's house. It generally takes months before the father of the girl is able to invite his son-in-law to a feast at his house where he receives cash presents etc. The bride also generally goes with him and then there is no bar to their coming or going.

The ceremonies connected with the death of a Musalman are simpler than that of a Pandit. At the time of death the *kalma* and some verses from the Quran are pronounced into the ear of the dying man. Those around call on the name of God and break into weeping when he breathes his last. The corpse is then bathed and wrapped in a shround and carried to the graveyard in a wooden coffit (*tabut*) which can readily be procured from a nearby mosque. The *tabut* is covered with a black cloth from a shrine nearby. The burial is accompanied with recitations of the holy verses from the Quran and other sacred books. The mourners then pray for the peace of the soul of the departed and return to their homes. For some days till the coming Friday, the chief mourner daily visits the grave with the *mulla* and offers prayers. On the next Friday, all the friends and relatives of the departed gather at the grave and offer *fatiha* or prayers. They then return to the house of the chief mourner and are served with light refreshments. For a year or two, the *mulla* receives alms from the house of the departed on certain Musalman holy days. The graveyard is planted with irises, tulips, narcissi and some spring flowers. Many rituals and ceremonies connected with birth, marriage and death, have, however, undergone reforms in consequence of modern socio-economic necessities.

The Musalmans of the Valley are very fond of celebrating their holy festivals with great *eclat*. On the Id days they do their new clothes and attend mass prayers in the Idgahs of the towns and villages. Presents are exchanged between relatives and friends. Married daughters and their husbands receive a greater share of these presents. Feasts are held and sumptuous dishes served.

The people visit holy places like Tsrar Sharif, Mukdum Sahib, Rishi Mol, etc., particularly during the annual fairs. Thousands gather and enjoy the shopping provided by many hawkers dealing in things useful to a householder—baskets, earthen vessels, blankets, cotton goods, cheap jewellery, etc. There are also spring and autumn festivals when cultivators offer prayers for getting a good harvest. These *melas* also provide a pleasant change to the otherwise dull life of a villager, and both young and old look forward keenly to their approach.

CHAPTER V

Kashmiri Literature

NANDLAL CHATTA

Kashmiri Script

Before we survey the literature of Kashmir, it will be proper to let the reader have a glimpse of Kashmiri script.

Kashmiris use three scripts for writing their language: the Sharda, the Nagri and the Persian (Urdu) script. The Persian script is used by all the literate Muslims and till recently by a majority of literate Hindus. It is also the script used by Christian Missionaries in writing books on a Bible, specially designed for masses of the country. The Persian script, although fairly constant, is not well suited for illustrating the complicated vowell sounds of the spoken Kashmiri. The Nagri script has as yet a limited use amongst the Hindus, but this alphabet too suffers from the same faults of vowel sounds as Persian. The ancient and indigenous script of Kashmiri is Sharda. Being built on the same system and corresponding with it, letter for letter, Sharda is allied to Nagri, but the forms of letters differ greatly. This script, being the mother of Dogri, Gurmukhi and Takkari scripts, is more closely allied to these script rather than to Nagri. It is the only perfect script for Kashmiri. But this script is now only used by Jyotishis and Purohits of Kashmir and that too for Panchangs and horoscopes. I fear, this script may some day become as dead as Pali, as there is no effort on the part of Kashmiris or the National Government to keep it alive and those who can write in this script now can be counted on fingers. Kashmiri, written in Persian script, is sometimes spoken of Muslmani Kashur and that in Nagri as Bhata (Kashmiri Pandits) Kashur.

Persian script, with some additional sounds, signs, is being used by some people, the educational and Information media of the Government of Kashmir. The broadcasting system of India too is using and has approved this very script for their broadcasts. But to fit in the additional sound signs in the Persian script seems to be an uphill task and people in general have not responded well so far. This Persian script, with some minor additions, has now got the approval of the State Education Department and the modern writers and printers use it invariably. Kashmir Univercity has introduced some examinations in Kashmiri. Let us hope, this script will one day be in common use. The first Kashmiri Dictionary, which is being published by the Government now uses this script.

Kashmiri Poetry

"Of course, as in the case of all poetry," says Rabindranath Tagore, "the folk poems have different degree of merit. The living stream that flows from the genious of a true poet has its origin, like the mythical *Mandakini*, in an unattainable world. Then come those others, who set to work digging canals to take the water to the cornfields." This saying of the Guru Dev is true to the letter for Kashmiri poetry. Its beginning is to be traced back to Kashmiri folk, song and ballads. A Kashmiri muses when his herds wind over the verdurous lea. He sings when he takes his flock of sheep and goats to pasture. He describes the KHACHU or BAHACH (heavy duty transport boats) he plies on the lucid waters of the Vyath (Vitasta or Jhelum), which he calls the 'River or Love'. He entertrains himself with opera songs. He is enchanted by the natural beauty of his environments and grows romantic to sing his love. A Kashmiri sings even when he is carrying a heavy load. The maids sing even when they wash clothes, or clean utensils, or grind corn, or pound paddy or work in the fields. As a matter of a fact, Kashmiri women, unlettered mostly, have relieved the tedium of their life by finding in these songs "a sincere echo of their emotions." The Kashmiri goes gay and sings in chorus on matrimonial occasions, Khutna ceremony, Zara Kasayc (Mundan) or Mekhela (Sacred Thread) ceremony. His lullaby notes, perhaps unique than those of the other parts of India, lull the child in the cradle or in the lap. A Kashmiri elegizes those near and dear to him on their death. Besides, he is mystical, God-fearing and a humanist to the core of his heart.

Kashmiri ballads have a legendary hero whose adventures and exploits form their main theme. Through these ballads vibrate the very life of Kashmir. These are the word pictures of unsophisticated emotions, and in them are enshrined the relics of Kashmiri home-spun traditions. The period of their composition cannot be determined with any definiteness, but certainly they seem to date back to several centuries past. Much of the old Kashmiri poetry is not extant, and still less do we know of early poets who composed and sang in their own mother tongue other than Sanskrit.

The life of Kashmiri poetry may be divided into four periods. The first period may be taken to embrace (1) Citi Kantha. (2) Lall and (3) Shiekh Noor-ud Din. The second period begins with Habba Khotan (Khatoon) and ends with Arinimal (Mrs. Bhawani Dass Kachru) and Prakash Bhat. The third period begins with Mahmud Gami and comes down to Azizullah Haqqani. The modern period of Kashmiri poetry may be taken separately to from the fourth peroid. Pirzada Ghulam Ahmad 'Mahjoor' is the standard bearer of this period. This period may also be sub-divided into two parts: pre-independence (1925—1947 A.D) and post-independence (1947 A. D. onwards.)

Now let uscan these periods one by one.

Notable Kashmiri Poets and their Works

Citi Kantha is the first Kashmiri poet known to have lived in the thirteenth century or somewhat earlier. His poems have here and there Sanskrit expressions. It is a strange coincidence that Citi Kantha lived in Kashmir almost in the same century when another illustrious son of Kashmir—Sangramdeva—was adoring the court of Devgiri (Dauletabad) in the Duccan. His well known Sanskrit book *Sangit Ratnakar* is an authority on Indian music.

After Citi Kantha comes the great lady of the land, Lall Ded also known as Lall Arifa or Lalleshwari (born in 1335 A.D.) Lalla was more a yogi, a sage and a philosopher than a pure poetess. She preached, the much commented upon, monistic Kashmirian Shaiva Philosophy through the people's language i.e. Kashmiri. Her language is mixed with Sanskrit words or Sanskrit words are adopted in the then Kashmiri. The vocabulary and pronunciation of the Kashmiri language has undergone a marked change from her times, and it is not easy to understand and appreciate the metre and ryhthm of her verses. The present metre of Kashmiri verse is much different, having been modelled on Persian and Urdu rather than on Sanskrit of yore. Moreover, the Sanskrit derivatives and words used by Lalla in her verses have either been dropped or have undergone a complete change in the pronunciation. Lalla's sayings, which are called Vakhs (Yakyas), have been published under the little 'Wak-i-Lalla Ishwari' or 'Lal Dedi Hind Wakh'. A note on her life and sayings will appear at its proper place.

After Lalla comes Sheikh Noor-ud-Din or Nund-Rishi. *Noornama* is a compilation of his sayings. He is more didactic than Lalla, although he had come under the direct influence of this great lady. He lived in the later part of the fourteenth century and the earlier part of the fifteenth century. He died in the time of Bad Shah, the greatest Sultan of Kashmir. Nund Rishi's followers are called Rishis. He too, like Lalla, was more a saint than a poet.

Soma Pandit, the author of *Zain Charita*, and Pandit Yodha Bhat, the author of *Zaina-Vilas*, are famous poets who adored the court of Zain-ul-Abidin Badshah. Then comes Habba Khotan. She was a remarkable women. Her original name was Zoon i.e. the moon, and truly she was like the moon in beauty—a perfection of youth, health and grace. She came from a lower middle class family of village Chandarhar—two miles from Pampore—where saffron is grown: She was the queen of Yusuf Shah Chak, who was forced to leave Kashmir by Akbar, the great Mughal Habba introduced the *Lollyric* in Kashmiri and her peoms are on the lips of Kashmiris. The *Kashmiri Rast* melody is her addition to the charm of Kashmiri music.

Habba is followed by Khwaja Habibullah Naushahri who died in 1617 A. D. He is followed by Roopa Bhawani (1624-1720 A. D.). Roopa's poetry too is spiritual, and languages is coloured with Sanskit. Sahib Koul, who lived during the reign of Jahangir, wrote *Krishan-Avtar* and *Janam-Charit*. After Sahib Kaul comes Arinimal. She appeared on the stage in the middle of the Afghan rule. Mula Faqir, who died about the close of eighteenth century, is famous for his odes. The author of *Kashir-Aqaid* (a masnavi) and *Mukhtasar Waqayah* (a religious poem) is Mir Abdullah Bahiqui. He died in 1807 A. D. A copy of *amsar-maya-mooh-zal sukh dukh charit*, which bears 1815 A.D. as its year, is a composition by Ganga Prasad. He is followed by Mahmud Gami, who died in 1855 A. D. and is the best known of poets in Muslim style and is the author of *Yusuf-Zuliakha*. His *Laila-wa-Majnoon, Shrin-Khusrav, Harun.ur-Rashid, Shiekh Sanan* are all on familiar Persian models. Wali-ullah Mattu's *Masnavi Himal-ta-Nagrai* cannot be ignored, though he has marred not only the effect of he story but also its poetic beauty by his departure from the local length. Language is much simpler and more popular. The love poem entitled *Zain-ul-Arab* was composed by Abdul Ahad 'Nazim'.

The period between 1159-1885 A. D. gave Kashmir some of its best poets : Swami Parmanand and Prakash Ram, Maqbool Shah and Lachhman Raina, Rasool Mir and Shams Faqir.

Pandit Nand Ram alias Swami Parmanand (1791-1885 A. D.) of Mattan (Martand) composed three long narrative poems viz *Shiv-Lagan, Radha-Swayamvar,* and *Sudama Charit*. Parmanand is called the 'Sanal' of Kashmir and, true it is, that he could have made his name in any language. The predominant theme of his poems—both long and short—is the quest of human soul for God and of God for Man, expressed in poetry charged with symbol and unobtrusive allegory. He sings as a *Bakta* (lover devotee) of personal God. Like Mira he sings of his God in the form of *Radha-Krishna.* His *Lilas*—Kashmiri name for Bhakti poems or lyrics—are full of joy and gaity, a rarity in Kashmiri poetry. For the *Lila* group of Kashmiri poets this universe exists, it is real and good. It is a lila, a dance drama of Shiva Natraja, full of exuberant bliss. *Radha-Swayamvara* is the most musical of his poems and *Sudama Charit* is unsurpassed for the economy of language and the sublimation of its story with a spiritual allegory, which makes it a significant masterpiece of his narrative poems.

There are lengendary and epic peoms like *Aknandun, Ramavtar charit* and *Lav Kush Charit* by Prakash Ram, but these are far inferior to Parmanand's poems. He (Prakash Ram), it seems, has composed these narratives with the purpose of piety and devotion rather than to tell a story in effective way. However; his compositions can be counted as the first *Veer-Kavya* (or *Razmia Masnavi* of Kashmiri, which is written in simpler language. His language is neither overweighed by Sanskrit nor by Persian words. Prakash Ram was a contemporary of Sukh Jiwan Mal, a governor of Kashmir under Afghans.

With the advent of Muslim rule in Kashmir, Kashmiri literature did not remain impervious to the influence of the Persian and Arabic language. A Kashmiri poet freely used Persian expressions. He unhesitatingly borrowed metaphor and simile from Persian. He went to the extent of echoing Persian thought and imitating Persian style. Mahmood Gami, who flourished in the latter part of the nineteenth century, is out and out a carbon copy of Persian poets. Kashmiris call him the 'Nizami' of Kashmiri language, a title given to him perhaps because of his self asserted claim of holding the same position in Kashmiri literature as is held by 'Nizami' in Persian. He composed a collection of five books entitled *Khamsa* or the *Punj Gunj* i.e. the five treasurers.

Maqbool Shah's compositions *Gulrez* and *Greest Nama* are also coloured with Persian. *Gulrez* is versified legend of Ajaib Malik and Nush-lab, borrowed from a Persian book. But *Gulrez* is one of the few Kashmiri masnavis that will live and that, too, not as a mere anthology piece. *Greest Namv*, a satire, describes, in an interesting manner, the satanic spirit of a peasant and his entanglements. *Greest Nama* is the first and the best satiric poem of Kashmiri language. Abdul Ahad 'Azad', perhaps, the first and so far the only critic of Kashmiri literature, bestows very high praise on Maqbool's beauty and charm of language in *Gulrez*. "The *Greest Nama* is rather pungent", he says. Maqbool's other works are : *Peer-nama, Malla nama, Bahar nama, Mansoor nama and Ayyub nama.*

Lachhman Raina (died 1897 A. D.) a disciple of Swami Parmanand, deserves to be better known for his Veer Kavya (Razmia Masnavis) entitled *Sham nama* and his Prem Kavya (love or bazmia masnavi), *Nal-hamyanthi.* In both of these he has succeeded in blending Persian to the genious of Kashmiri. Rasool Mir Shahabadi, another poet of this period, has maintained the beauty and chastity of Kahhmiri language. In odes and ghazals he has surpassed Mahmood Gami and Maqbool Shah. He is, undoubtedly the best Song Writer of Kashmiri language.

Swami Parmanand's disciple, Pandit Krihan Dass of Vanpooh village excls even his Guru in cleanness of language, in his description of nature and in 'local colour', and perhaps in the musicality of verse. His melodies deserve quite a fair place in Kashmiri poetry. His songs, very musical indeed, are popular with the women folk—especially Panditanis—and you can hear his songs sung in chorus especially on auspicious occasions like matrimonial ceremony and others. His songs are so much popular among the Kashmiri Pandits that there can hardly be any home where these are not sung, especially during long winter nights, with the resonance of harmonium and Tumbaknari (Kashmiri Kettle drum).

Azizullah Haqqani (1854-1929 A. D.) is another lyricist. Music is the keynote of his compositions. A collection of his love ballads and lyrical poems has been published under the title of *Gazallat-i-Haqani.*. His famous poems *Sailab-nama* and *Atish-nama* describe the great floods of 1902-1903 A. D. and the great fire that engulfed the city of Srinagar in his life time.

Hajin, a village near the Wular Lake in Baramula Disrtict, can boast of having given birth to more than one noted poet of Kashmir. Abdul Wahab Parey or simply Wahab Parey, a resident of this village, flourished in the later half of nineteenth century. He died in 1914 A.D. at a ripe age of 70 years. He can rightly be called the 'Firdousi' of Kashmir. In the introduction of his famous translation of the *Sultani*, he says that it was in a dream that Sheikh Hamza Makhdoom (Makhdoom Sahib), the famous sufi saint of Srinagar, infused into him the poetic spirit. His works are mostly the translations of Persian Poetry.

His famous translations are : (1) *Shahnama of Firdousi* in four volumes. Each Persian verse is appropriately translated into Kashmiri verse. (2) The *Akbar nama,* a Persian composition of Hamidullah of Anantnag (Islamabad), has been translated verse by verse. Reader may not take this composition to be on Akbar, the great mugal, because of the name. It is the versified account of the first three Afghan wars and Akbar Khan, son of Amir. Doost Mohamad Khan, King of Afghanistan, is presented as a hero in it.

Parey's other translations are : *Haft Qissa-i-Makar-i-Zan* or The Seven Stories of the Viles of Women, *Haft Qissa-i-Haft-Ama* or Seven Stories of Seven Blind men, *Qissa-i-Char Dar Darvesh* or The Story of four Darveshes ; *Qissa-i-Nav-nehal Gulbadan,* The *Qissa-i-Bahram Gaur.* Another translation of Parey is *Sultani,* a voluminous biography of Sheikh Hama Makhdoom, originally composed by the saint's five successors in Persian prose and has been translated into Kashmiri.

Parey's original poetry has been collected in *Diwani-i-Wahhab.* The Diwan of 767 odes in Kashmiri contains a few Persian poems also. His verse embraces : (1) Religious poems in praise of Islam, the Prophet and his Chaar-yar, and Muslim saints of India, (2) Didactic poems with satirical touches on social customs, habits and manners, (3) Amorous poems of a strangely puritanical bent of mind' (4) Mystic poems with copious references to Muslim history, (5) Narrative poems mostly permeated with pessimism. None of Pare'ys works except *Shah-nama* and selection of his

Diwan is printed. Manuscripts are found scattered in several parts of the Valley. Before the partition of 1947 A. D. I was told that a life of the poet was in preparation at his home village Hajin. What happened to this project, I do not know.

Maulvi Siddiqullah who died in 1900 A. D. was a jurist, translator and poet. His translation of Nimai's *Sikandar-nama* from Persian into Kashmiri verse is good. His translation in Kashmiri verse of *Badaye-Manzum*, a versified Persian work on Muslim Jurisprudence, is considered an authority on this subject. His third work is entitled *Shakal-wa-Shumail An-Hazrat Sulam,* which is a descriptive poem about the Prophet of Islam. A small book *Rad-ul-Wahbabiya* is against the Wahhabi sect of Muslims. All his books except the second are published. Other unpublished works are about nine.

Asad Parey is the second great poet born in Hajin. He died in the village Salure near Ganderbal in 1923 A. D. Although illiterate, he was a born poet. When he was only twenty, his parents died. He left home and became a wanderer. While wandering thus he reached Ganastan, a village near Sumbal, and there he came into contact with Ramzan Bhat, the famous author of the mystical poem *Aknandun*. He became his disciple. He spent his last days at Salura, where he was married. Ups and downs of life had made him pious, mystical and melancholic. He satirized the 'seasonal mendicants' once, and the poem will be quoted at its proper place.

Another folk-singer of Hajin village was Tantre who died in the first quarter of this century.

Yet another poet is Rahman Dar of Chhatabal, a suburb of Srinagar, but he preferred to remain obscure; very little is extant of his verses. His poems, handed down to us by word of mouth, are marvellously mystical. Had he cared to come to the limelight he would possibly have been ranked with Mahmood Gami whose contemporary he was. His poem *Maachh-Tullur* (the honey been) is current to this day, but another of his work *Doost-Muhamad Khan* was well known during his life time. Just before the buses began to play on Jehlum valley road, the tongawallas who carried passangers from Srinagar to Pattan used to sing this poem to relieve the tedium of travel. It is just about 30-35 years back that I have myself listened to this narrative from their mouth.

Pandit Nand Lal Koul alias Nanna is a modern poet and a dramatist. He infused a new spirit in Kashmiri language. Some of his works viz *Satach Kahawat* (The Touch-stone of Truth) *Dayya-Lol* (Love of God) *Ramun Raj* (Ram Rajiya), *Prahlad Bhagat* (Bhakt Prahlad) have been published. Most of his works are translations from Urdu but done excellently.

Another modern poet is Mana Ju Attar of Buhori Kadal, Srinagar. He has versified *Shrimad Bhagwat Purana* into Kashmiri verse and is published. During this very Pericd Pandit Narayan Joo Khar of Mattan translated *Srimad Bhagwad Gita* in to lucid flowing Kashmiri verse, and has composed a few other poems.

Pandit Dayaram Ganju is some times humorous. In his *Ghar-Vuzmal* he addresses the little sisters and daughters of the contry, especially of his community, and gives them advice on household duties, cleanliness and good habits.

Pandit Zinda Koul alias 'Master jee' was a sound critic of Kashmiri poetry and a poet himself. His poem *Magburia Lacharya* is a praiseworthy piece.

From 1925 to 1947 A. D. Kashmiri literary activity was at its lowest ebb. But Ghulam Ahmad 'Mahjoor' and Mirza Ghulam Hassan Beg 'Arif', the two stalwarts of modern age, kept the Kashmiri poetry alive. There were, no doubt, other Kashmiri poets like Ghulam Rasool 'Nazki', Pandit Dina Nath Chikan 'Mast Kashmiri', Pandit Dina Nath 'Nadim' and others who composed fine pieces of poetry in Urdu but not in mother tongue. Nazki and Nadim, however, switched on to Kashmiri just after independance, when the country was treacherously invaded by the newly born country, Pakistan, on 24th October, 1947.

Mirza Ghulam Hassan Beg 'Arif', an M. Sc. in Zoology, did not bypass the emotional aspects or deeper problems of life, which became the subject of his songs, even when he was holding a high rank in the executive set-up of Maharaja's rule. In his *Kham Seer* (Raw Brick) he brings home to the readers that the unburnt brick grows firmer after passing the process of burning in a kiln. In the same way a human being can grow perfect by burning in the fire of toil and hardship. Arif's conception of the greatness of the destiny of man is obvious not only here but also when the *Namaz-i-Janaza* (The Funeral Prayer of Muslims) is the subject of his verse. He is re-assured of the greatness of Man before whom the angels go prostrate when he sees the Musalmans praying towards 'kaba' in front of the corps of a dear one. Yet another of his poems, a stirring elegy on the death of a dear child, from the mouth of a pandit lady is stirring.

Ghulam Ahmad 'Mahjoor' earned popularity and fame during his life time. His songs, enriched with beautiful similies and metaphors are on the lips of the masses in Kashmir and also outside Kashmir among the Kashmiri-speaking people. His lyrical, patriotic and political poems have won him great laurels. He had the honour to be declared the greatest poet of his time by the Govt. of Kashmir. 'His songs and poems' says Balraj Sahani, "are the cherished property of every man, woman and child living between Baramulla and Pantsal. If Mahjoor writes a poem today, it will be on the lips of the populace within a fortnight. Children on their way to school, girls thrashing rice, boatmen plying ores, labourers bending in their ceaseless toil, all will be singing it."[1]

Balraj further says the beauty of Mahjoor's poetry 'lies more in its music and refined sentiment than depth of thought. It has the water colour delicacy of Kashmir landscape.' 'Master Jee' while commenting on his poetry says, "Besides being very musical and correct in the technique of metre and rhyme Mahjoor is, perhaps, the first to introduce into Kashmiri the ideas of patriotism', human freedom, love of mankind, unity of Hindus and Muslims, dignity of work, respect for manual labour and nature (scenery, birds, flowers etc)." Compilation of his works named *Kalam-i-Mahjoor* (in more than 9 parts) and *Payam-i-Mahjoor* have been published, and it is said that nearly a lac of copies were sold within a short period.

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1. The Wishwa Bharati Quarterly, Nov. 1938.

Mahjoor's younger contomporary, although he did not come into lime-light during his life-time, was Munshi Abdul Ahad 'Azad' of village Ranger near Badgam town. His poems show depth of thought, observation and taste. Mahjoor is a nationalist who longs for liberty and passionately prays for the prosperity of his native-land, but 'Azad' is a socialist who craves for a new era of universal equality and fraternity. He is a progressive poet, a creation of modern times and thoughts. Temples and mosques bear the burnt of his fury. He would smash all those idols of religion which do not stand for the unity and service to humanity. He bitterly condemns 'pride of birth', which have hampered the progress of nations. He wishes young men to push forward by sheer dint of merit. In brief, Mahjoor is sweet and looks on a upper surface of the sea, but Azad, though dry, dives deep into the sea. The one looks to the past and the other to the future. The one is a pirzada (the son of a priest) and the other is a dihqan-zada (a son of the tiller of the soil), and, hence, the difference in their outlook.

A large number of discerning critics acclaim 'Azad as a poet of a great merit than 'Mahjoor'. Alas, this people's poet, a creation from the under-dog, the harbinger of modern age, was nipped in the bud in 1948 at a comparatively young age of 45 years. His warks *Kalam-i-Azad, Payam-i-Azad* and *Sangarmala,* are published. His manuscript volumes on systematic history of Kashmiri literature entitled *Tarikhe-Adbiyat-i-Kashmir,* in Urdu language, which was in possession of the Kashmir Govt., has now been published by the Akadami of Arts and Letters of Kashmir. This work should establish Azad's status as a leading exponent of Kashmiri poetry and literature as a whole. He not only was a poet but also a critic of modern Kashmir. Be it a gazal or a simple poem on any subject, 'Azad' has brought in it the theme of the suffering humanity. Even in his beautiful poem *Aabshar* (water fall) he has not been able to restrain feelings for the suffering humanity. His verses do not spare even God Almighty from criticism, and has made Satan complain of injustice done to him by HIM in his *Shikwa-i-lblis* (Satan's Complaint).

Uptil the advent of freedom in 1947, the younger generation of Kashmiri poets was strongly influenced by the social and political movements of the other parts of India. Nand Lal Ambardar's and Gulam Ahmad Fazil's poems entitled *Kraal Koor* (The Potter's Daughter) and *Kana-door* (The Ear-pendent) are a clear picture of change that had overtaken these poets. These poems, although romantic, are free from the old sterile diction of *Gul-o-bulbul* (The flower and the nightigale).

As mentioned earlier, the secret invasion on 24th October 1947 was responsible to usher in Kashmiri quite a new period of literature. So as to perform their duty towards their motherland, new poets, prose composers, playwrights and artist burst upon the scene to encourage and infuse their brotheren in arms, and they overnight produced beautiful national literature. The younger poets of the preceeding period joined the new ones with themes relevent to the life and death struggle of the Kashmiris which was thrust upon them by this treacherous armed onslaught. To mention a few 'Mahjoor, 'Aaif', 'Asi (Abdul Sattar), Nadim, Ambardar and others guided this new age towards right direction. Some of the short plays and poems of this short period had a new rhetoric eloquence, passion and patriotism, a wide socialistic landscape, new metres and rhymes. The leaders of this renaissance were nearly all well educated and well-read and their compositions bear an impact of Urdu and English literatures and modern thoughts. The foremost leaders of this renaissance are Dina Nath 'Nadim', Noor Mohamad 'Roshan', Amin 'Kamil' and some others. They were followed by the younger poets like Gulam Rasool 'Santosh', Gulam Nabi 'Khayal', Rahman 'Rahi', Muzzafar Azim, Makhan Lal 'Bekas', Gulam Nabi 'Firaq', Chaman Lal 'Chaman', the short story and fiction writers, Akhtar Mohi-ud-Din, Amin Kamil, Deepak Kaul, Bansi 'Nirdosh' Autar Kishan 'Bekhabar', Hridev Bharati, Umesh Koul, Sufi Gulam Mohamad, Ali Mohamad Lone, Shankar Raina and others.

Dina Nath 'Nadim' introdused new forms like the opera and the sonnet in the Kashmiri language. Besides this, he introduced or tather adopted a number of new words to the vocabulary of the Kashmiri language; on the other hand Rahman

Rahi was successful in giving a modern intellectual thought content to the Kashmiri ghazal. 'Nazki', as mentioned earlier who switched over to Kashmiri, produced a good piece of poetry entitled '*Narmkod Nama*', which is a valuble addition to the Kashmiri poetry and is in quatrains.

Thanks to the facilities for broadcasting, there has been a new dramatic activity and short story writing. Short plays like *Madur Mus* (The Seductive Wine) or *Vij Vav* (The Northern Gale in Wular Lake and Loan's *Taazi Batun Kan* are worthy of mention. A few of the comic plays like '*Machama*', a series by Pushkar Bhan, are pupular and note-worthy. Some translationsfrom Tagore plays and foreign classics have also been done and have been well received by the public as a whole.

The first novel written in Kashmiri is entitled 'Dod Dag'. Its author is Akhatar Mohi-ud-din. Besides this, critical essays by Prof. Jia Lal Koul, Gulam Mohi-ud-din, Rahman Rahi, are a new field in Kashmiri literature. Short skits, radio-plays and culture of Kashmir along with features for women and children on different sccial, economic and cultural activities of the Kashmiri people are now being regularly produced and broadcast by the broadcasting station of Srinagar and the Kashmiri Unit of All India Radio, Delhi. Mention should here be made of the services of Pandit Shambu Nath Bhat 'Haleem', an employee of All India Radio, Delhi. He is one of the harbingers of modern age of Kashmir. He not only composes in Kashmiri but also in Hindi. He too switched over to Kashmiri from Hindi like Nadim and others.

Before presenting short biographical notes and translations of some selected pieces of the Kashmiri poetry, it will be worthwhile to survey briefly the other allied subject music of Kashmir, which cannot be separated from the poetry of the land, for music is the nector of poetry and has got the same relation to poetry that soul bears to the body.

CHAPTER VI

The Folklore of Kashmir

"KASHMIR TODAY"
SRINAGAR

Culturally advanced as Kashmir was, her contribution to the folk-tales treasured in Buddhist *Jatkas* and the latter classic didactic collections of *Panchtantra* and *Katha Saritsagar* are assured. It is generally believed that except for the five hundred years upto the twelfth century the *Rajtarahgini* has for its source well documented folklore. Buddhism spread to the outside world in the East via Kashmir in 3rd century B. C. when Ashoka, its great sponsor reigned over Kashmir. It attracted the hearts of the Chinese completely by the 4th century A. D. and the Buddhist missionaries passed from and to India through Kashmir. Somdeva the author of *Panchtantra* was a Kashmiri, who flourished about the last century B. C.

It is generally believed that there has been constant interchange of the folk-tales between the East and the West from 5th century onwards. Much in advance of the time, Kashmiris had established cultural relationship with China because of her community of religion, Kashmir folk-tales, lengends and myths, which had been tagged with the other tales of times found expression through the medium of *Jatkas* and the *Panchtantra* tales. The meterial and intellectual expansion of Islam that followed and helped by Persian and Arabic translations, diffused the lore to the West. That the Western nations owe the basis of most of their folklore to oriental story books, has been established, by Clouston in England, and Kohler in Germany. The great scholar of France, Emmıranuel Cosuin, maintains, that all the Western folk-tales had their prototypes in India. Even Theodore Benfey holds that Western folk-tales were derived from India. *Panchtantra* has been translated in many languages including Japanese, Greek, Latin, Arabic, German, French, Russian, Italian, Swedish, Dutch, Chinese and English. In *Arabian Nights* we find mention of lions, jackals, elephants, peacocks etc., which figure pominently in Kashmiri and Indian folk-tales.

From the 13th century onwards, the Persian language had the sway and the best in her thought found expession through that medium. The yoke of the brutal subjection of Kashmir has its terrific effect upon the psychology of the people. The ruling classes from time to time except for the great Badshah, Akbar and other few great lovers of art had not only no taste for letters and art but revelled in its destruction. This State of affairs was further supplemented by the cesspool of illiteracy into which the people of the country, scattered over large tracts of scarcely populated areas, were thrown. They had no food but they had the tax collecter. The rich literary oral heritage was thus under the pressure of tragic distress born to fear. How could this treasure be preserved or its preservers patronised in such an atmosphere.

"The more the people at large have to do with the Govt., the more will the intellectuals and artists have to fight for their ideas and, perhaps, for their lives" is the view expressed by George Bernard shaw in respect of art vis-a-vis a democratic Government. The reverse holds true in the case of Kasmir. Kashmiri art and intellect had already had this experience before the formation of its democratic Government and it is hoped that with the setting up of cultural institutions, such as broadcasting service, Cultural Congress, Government Academy for Art, Culture and Languages, which are already set on the path of cultural revival, the imaginative capacity of the people will continue to receive a healthy impetus. A local publishing concern M/s. Ghulam Mohd. Noor Mohd. have also in recent years done a good bit in preserving the original oral treasures of native literature. Their small publications compromise versions in Kashmir and Persian of the local folk-tales. Opportunities for exploring the fields of lore today are as ample as half a century ago when Hatim Jilwaney was recited with the exactitude of a gramophone record, six stories in prose, three songs and three more stories partly in prose and pertry in verse before sir Aurel Stein. Prof. Soom Nath Dhar's collection of folklore (Hind kitabs) is an interesting contribution for study.

"Hamtim's Tales represent the first scientific method of recording the folk-tales in original along with inter-linear translation in a literary form. Judged from the standard "The song is beautiful through its harmony and the tale through its narrative style. The tales narrated by Hatim stand unquestionable. It cannot, of course be said that the stories narrated by Hatim are exactly those which are known or said by the people in the street or village.

According the Maxmuller, "Mythology and folk-tales are vestigal relic of an all egorical religious literature connected with the worship of natural phenomena". It is not, therefore, for nothing that these stories of the Indian or Kashmiri stock or the motifs, therefore, have been drawn up by European countries or vice-versa. Hence this has a great hand in the character and the nature of the Kashmir folk-tale.

Folksongs of Kashmir are as rich in content and theme and farm as any other. Songs known in Kashmir as "SHAAR" are compiled on any subject. These songs are the natural and original expression of the people's soul, its companion in joy and sorrow. Nothing is beyond the scope of such imaginative versical rendering from a subtle philosophical compositions though born of rich calm to the havocs created by a famine or a flood or a personal scandal, light or serious. All sorts of incidents provide inspiration for the rustic muse. There are dancing songs set for different seasons and occasions of the year and mystical pithy verse. There are songs sung chorus at harvest time, there are songs sung in almost air conditioned rooms in winter around a bubbling *hukka* and a boiling Samavar. There are many songs which make Kashmiri spend nights together in singing ballads, such as marriage of lord Shiva or Krishna Avatar. These folk songs have beauty, appeal, entertainment melody and richness.

The proverbs from the most important aspect of Kashmiri folklore. Kashmiri has a rich stock of her proverbs. These are an epitome of the experience of its people in the different spheres of the life social, political, philosophical and the indelible impress it has left upon their souls. Almost every proverb has a story or a healthy anecdote behind it, which makes it possible to appreciate the genius and the art of the Kashmiris while, the POLITICAL COMPOSURE AND ECONOMIC EASE OF THE ancient past lead their spiritual flights into realms unimaginable. The oppression and tyranny of the centuries old subjugation simply evoked undying expressions of a touched spirit and sharpend with Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, of the Church Missionary Society in Kashmir did a signal service to the people of Kashmir. In 1885 he immortalized Kashmiri proverbs and published them in a dictionary with the interesting background of local folk-lore of which these are the cream.

Here are a few stray specimens of the proverbs, which mirror the genius of the Kashmir sharpened byi ts own experience of men and things.

1. Aki Tsatt Sum Ta Sas Gaw Kuli

(One man cut the bridge and thousands fell into the river) viz a Sinner Sinks the Boat.

A very long time ago, a large crowd of people was travelling together. In the midst of the crowd there was a very wicked man who did not seem to be in wits. They had to cross a deep stream by the help of the plank. The wicked man getting himself crossed first cut the plank into two by a hatchet. But a man among than gave in, he loosened the grip with other, with the result that all were drowned.

2. Anim Sui, Wayum Sui, Lejam Sui Pansui

(I got the nettle I sowed the nettle, and then it stung none but me) *i. e.* Ingratitude more strong than traitors arms.

"A Fakir (Sadhu) was always visited by thousand of Hindus, in ancient Kashmir as the Fakir had nettle on his palm which he had uprooted without making anybody aware of this trick. The Fakir had a disciple who received and one day in a fit a anger he hit the nettle, earth and all, out of his masters plan. The Fakir then spoke the above saying.

3. Hapat Yarz (A bear's friendship)

i. e., a wise enemy is better than a foolish friend.

"A bear once formed friendship with a man. He tried to please his friend in all respect. Once the man was sleeping, the bear kept watching him and wanted to save his friend from the pain of fasting, and so he went and fetched a big piece of rock and aimed it with all the might at a bee which was stinging his body but killed his friend,

4. Kub-Kul Kus? Mutih Hind Tul-Kul

Which is the crooked tree? Mut's mulberry tree "Gopal Mut had a garden, in which was a stumpy and crooked mulberry tree. All the Children of neighbourhood would annoy Gopal Mut very much. The children would easily climb the tree shout and sings. In short this tree was a source of nuisance to Gopal and everybody. The regular answer to the question, "where shall we play?" was at Gopal Mut's mulberry tree." Every body and girl could climb it, it was so small and nearly all of then in neighbourhood did climb.

5. Namrudun Hyut Dam Divan (He boasts like Namrood i. e. pride hath her fall

"King Namrood was a great oppressor, and became so proud and independent as to say that there was no God. There came a voice from heaven bidding him to repent. But Namrood did not pay and heed. At least, God sent a mosquito which entered Namrood's nose and eaused him agony and evantually he was so worn by the pain that he died."

6. Namazi sunz Unguj

(The finger of the prayer i. e. spoilt child paves the way for his own destruction.

"Pathan of high family while saying his prayers in a *Masjid* was very much annoyed by a tricked person. The *Pathan* gave him one rupee to desist. The man left annoying the worshipper but was encouraged by the present to prosecute his wickedness upon some other worshipper. The other man, however, was not of such quiet desposition as the *Pathan* for he, atonce, rose up drew his sword and struck off the troublemakers head with one stroke.

7. Drag Tsali Tah Dag Tsali Nah

(The famine will disappear, but the stain will not disappear this gives an idea of a terrible famine which had occurred in Kashmir.

"During one of the terrible famines in Kashmir a brother was nearly dead from the want of food, when he remembered a long forgotten sister, and determined to go to her. The sister happend to be making bread at the time when he approched her but she was too sharp for him. She had seen him coming and guessed his long deferred visit. So she took up the burning hot bread and hid it under another arm. Her bosom was very much scorched by this and she retained the mark of the burn up to the time of her death." The proverb refers to this story.

CHAPTER 7

Contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit Literature

DR. R. K. KAW

For centuries Kashmir has been one of the well-known homes of Sanskrit learning.[1] The contribution to Sanskrit literature by Kashmiri writers is indeed immense. The Valley has produced masterpieces of history, philosophy, Poetry, romance, fable and mythology.

Although Kashmiris had no direct hand in the composition of the Vedic hymns, yet it was in Kashmir that *Kathaka Samhita* of *Yajurveda* was preserved and followed in the later ages.[2] The *Paippalada* recension of *Atharva-veda* is known as the Kashmirian *Atharva-veda*. A single birch-bark manuscript of this was discovered by Professor Buhler in Kashmir, and has been described by Professor Roth in his tract *Der Atharva-veda in Kashmir* (1875). The manuscript of the *Paippalada* recension has been first published in facsimile by M. Bloomfield and R. Garbe.[3] The books I, II, IV-X of the Kashmirian recension have also been published with critical notes on the text in *The Journal of American Oriental Society*.[4]

Kashmir came to enjoy a high reputation as a centre of Buddhist learning. Kanishka's Council held in Kashmir in the first century A.D. gave a powerful fillip to the growth of Buddhist learning, especially to what is called the Sanskrit

Buddhism. The Council sat for six months and collected all available sayings and the teachings of the Buddha and the other masters of the law and drew up expository Commentaries on them.[5] The "Greater Vehicle of the Law" (Mahayan) was drawn up here by Buddhist theologians in consultation with the Acharyas of this holy land.[6] One important Buddhist work, *Milinda-Panha*, was written by the reputed Kashmirian author, Naga-sena (150 B.C.). *Milinda-Panha* is a record of the elegant and eloquent conversation that the Theravadin had with the Bacterian King of Northern India on a number of controversial issues of Buddhism. The original book, which was probably written in Sanskrit, is lost but its Pali and Chinese recensions are available.[7] Numerous Kashmiri Buddhist scholars have written original works in Sanskrit and Prakrit and translated several into Chinese, Tibetan and other foreign languages. Kumaralabdha, one of the four luminaries of Buddhism, is known to be a Kashmiri. Some of the Kashmiris went to other countries to propagate the message of the Buddha, or its new interpretation. Kumarajiva, known to be a native of Kashmir, is regarded as one of the greatest translators of Sanskrit texts into Chinese. As a result of the pious labours of distinguished scholars like Kumarajiva, Buddhayasha, Dharmaraksha and Gunavarman, Kashmir became renowned for learning and scholarship in China.[8] Among the Buddhist scholars who worked in Tibet may be mentioned the Kashmiris, Shantigarbha, Sarvajnadeva and Shakya-sri-bhadra[9] Thus it will be seen that Kashmir played an important role in the cultural sway of ancient India and in producing a lasting unity in the spheres of emotional, artistic, religious and intellectual activities among the people of Asia.

Ancient Kashmir occupies a respectable niche in the gallery of literature, particularly classical Sanskrit. Apart from Kalidasa, to whom some scholars have saught to assign a home in Kashmir,[10] we come across Ksemendra, a prodigious writer who summarised the whole of *Ramayana* in his *Ramayana Manjari*, the entire *Mahabharata* in *Bharata Manjari* and rendered into Sanskrit the Prakrit *Brihat Katha Manjari* of Gunadhya, whose original is lost. He wrote also *Dasavatara-caritam* and compiled the Buddhist Avadans. He has also said much on contemporary social, religious and administrative life. Somadeva has shown encyclopaedic knowledge of folk-lore in his *Katha Sarit Sagara.* Jayadratha has consolidated the attributes of Siva in his *Haracarita-cintamani,* while Ratnakara gives a lengthy description of the victorious exploits of Siva in his famous *Hara-vijaya Kavya.* Bilhana is an adventurous writer and has written his *Vikramankadeva-carita* to commemorate the deeds of his patron, the King of Kalyan (1075-1126 A.D.). In the same class of epic poetry we have *Srikantha carita* of Mankha and *Naisadha-carita* of Sri Harsha, who flourished in Kashmir in the 12th century.[11] The reign of King Avantivarman (855-883 A.D.) witnessed a remarkable revival of Sanskrit learning in Kashmir. Siva-swamin was one of the 'gems' of Avantivarman's court. He is credited with the authorship of seven *Mahakavyas,* several dramas, and prose works, and other writings. One poem, entitled *Kapphinabhyudaya,* and a few stray verses make up all that is left to us to read and admire out of his works. In *Kapphinabhyudaya,* Siva-swamin has adapted the simple Avadana story to his needs and has succeeded in producing a poem of a very high order.[12] We come across also Prakrit poets like Pravarsena of the *Setu-bandha* fame. Kashmir was responsible for certain genre of writings, *Muktakas* like the *Hrdayavati-gathas* in Prakrit of the *satprajnas* referred to by Ananda-vardhana and Abhinavagupta and the *Satakas* like the *Anyapadesa,* works of worldly wisdom like the *Kuttanimata* of Damodaragupta, and the satires of Ksemendra, like *Desopadesa* and *Narma-mala.* In fact, Ksemendra, a great son of Kashmir, will stand out in all India as a unique literary figure of wide humanistic interest and practical wisdom, a modern mind, as it were, an originator of new types of literary writings, and satirical *Khanada-kavyas* ([12a]).

To poetics or *Alankara-sastra* (Rhetorics) Kashmir has made the largest contribution. Majority of famous rhetoricians of India belong to Kashmir. Vamana (7th century A.D.), the founder of the *Riti* School, wrote *Kavya-lankara-vritti.* Udbhatta (8th century A.D.), the expounder of the theory of three *Vrittis,* wrote *Alankara-sara-samgraha* and *Bhama-vivarnn.* Rudratta (9th century), the expounder of the theory of three figures, wrote *Kavyalankara.* Anandavardhana (9th century), the founder of the School of Doctrine of *Dhvani* (Suggestion), wrote *Dhvanyaloka.* Mamatta (11th century), the upholder of the theory of *Rasa* (Sentiment), wrote *Kavya-prakasa.* Abhinavagupta (11th century), the expounder of the theory of *Rasadhvam*, wrote *Dhvanyaloka-locana.* Mahimbhatta, who held the view that *Dhvani* could always be reduced to inference. (*Anumana*), wrote *Vyaktiviveka.* Ruyyaka (12th century), who asserts Dhvanikara's view and accepts the principle of *Vakrokti-jivita*, wrote *Alankara sarvasva* and a commentary on *Kavya-prakasa.* Ksemendra, who was both a poet and a critic, and laid down the theory that propriety is essential to sentiment, wrote *Aucitya-vicara* and *Kavi-kanthabharana.* All these renowned rhetoricians, besides Kayyatha, Alleta and others, hail from Kashmir.[13] There was indeed a galaxy of Kashmiri critics who built up the twin disciplines of *Alankara* and *Natya-sastras.* Rudrata, Lollta, Sankuka, Ananda vardhana, Candri-Kakora Bhatta Nayaka, Bhatta Tota, Bhattendu-raj, Abhinavagupta, Kuntaka, Mahima, Bhatta, Ksemendra, Mammatta, Allata, Tilaka, Ruyyaka, Sobhakara, Jayadratha—who evolved original theories about the soul or the essence of the artistic expression and elucidated the different aspects of appeal in poetry and drama. There were some noteworthy writers in this field outside Kashmir, but the *Dhvani* and *Rasa-dhvani* doctrine expounded by Ananda-vardhana and Abhinavagupta eclipsed by its brilliance all other theories.[14]

Kashmir has evolved a school of philosophy, perfectly scientific in its approach, namely the *Pratysbhijna* system of "Kashmir Saivism," which has made a radical revision or re-orientation of Indian and Western systems of philosophy. Some of the outstanding books on the system are : *Siva-drsti* of Somananda, *Isvara-Pratyabhijna Karikas* or *Sutras* of Utpaladeva and the two commentaries on the same, namely *Vimarsini* and *Vivrtivimarsini*, by Abhinavagupta. *Tantraloka*, Abhinavagupta's another voluminous works, has appeared in 13 volumes.[15] The school of thought known as Kashmir Saivism is a unique system. In this the Kashmiri philosophers hit a synthesis between the personal and the impersonal and the monistic and dualistic opproaches, and the traditions and terms of thought and the practices of the Bauddhas and the orthodox, of the *Agamas*, and the *Vedas* and *Sastras*, and of the *Vedanta*, Saivism and Vaisnavism. In fact, Vasugupta, Kallata, Somananda, Bhaskara, Bhatta Narayana. Cakra-pani-natha, Utpaladeva, Utpala-vaisnava, Laksmana-gupta, Ananda-vardhana, Abhinavagupta, Jayaratha, Ksemaraja. Sivopadhyaya and Srikntha are a succession of distinguished writers who, appearing in a single area, put forth a rich corpus of literature on a specific school of thought.[16]

As regards the unique contribution of Kashmir to history, it would be worthwhile first to invite attention of the readers to the impression held by Western writers about Indians as lacking the historical sense. A. A. Macdonell remarks in his *History of Sanskrit Literature* (P. 10) that 'History is the one weak spot in Indian literature'. Such remarks of Western critics have become obsolete since the historical writings of Kashmiri chroniclers like Bilhana, Kalhana, Jonaraja Shrivara, Prajyabhatta and Suka have appeared in recent publications. Attention is invited to the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, the master historian of Kashmir,[17] and the same continued by his followers, Jonaraja, Shrivara, Prajya-bhatta and Suka.[18] The works of these Kashmiri Sanskrit historians are indeed historical in the true sense, because of a perfect scientific approach, as by modern historians. Another work of historical character, *Nilamatapuranam,* is an important work from the point of view of history, legnadary lore and topography of Kashmir.[19]

According to certain evidences, Patanjali, the commentator of Panini's *Astadhyayi* (the first treatise on Sanskrit Grammar) was a Kashmiri, so was Pingala, the author of *Pingala Sutra* (a treatise on Metrics and Prosody). There are so many remarkable writers of Kashmir who have contributed to scientific subjects like Astronomy, Medicine, Agriculture Architecture, and other arts. For instance Charaka, the author of a well-known Medical Treatise, *Charaka-samhita,* according to some evidences, belonged to Kashmir.[20] A comprehensive Sanskrit treatise on Agricultural Science (*Krsi.Sastra*), namely *Kasapa-munikathita-Kasyapiya-Krsi-sukti* (a Ms. found by me in Adyar

Manuscript Library in Madras), is ascribed to Kasapa, a well-known hoary sage of Kashmir.

Among the recent Sanskrit works may be mentioned an easy commentary on *Isvara-Pratyabhijna-Vimarsini*, namely *Bhaskari*, written nearly 200 years ago by Bhaskaracarya.[21] In our own time were written *Devi-nama-vilasa* by Sahib Kaul and *Panchastavi Tika* by Harabhatta Sastri, which have been published in the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies. In Maharaja Ranvirsimha's time, a number of new Sanskrit works of practical nature and translation from Persian were prepared, like the *Vira-ratna-sekhara-sikha*, otherwise called *Susila-saili* and *Vira-hara-kanthika*, a translation of *Aklaqi-Mohsini*, by Pandit Saheb Ram.[22] Another important work on the ancient Hindu law, namely *Ranvira Prayascitta Nibandha*, was also prepared. A glossary of technical terms employed in Saiva Philosophy, 300 pages of Manuscript, was also reported to be ready for the press.

Besides some original compositions, a considerable number of new commentaries and digests in various branches of Sanskrit literature were prepared and partly printed. Again, Persian and Arabic works on historical, philosophical and other subjects were translated into Sanskrit with the assistance of competent scholars.[23] By doing all this Maharaja Ranvirsimha was keeping up the same continuity of the vogue of Sanskrit in this Sarada-desa, of which, in the words of Bilhana, the twin fragrant specialities had always been saffron and Sanskrit :—

सहोदराः कुङ्कुमकेसराणां भवन्ति नूनं कविता विलासाः
न शारदादेशमपास्य द्रष्टः तेषां यदन्यत्र मया प्ररोहः ॥[24]

Vikramanka-deva-carita, 1,21.

The list of famous writers and scholars of Kashmir who have enriched and extended the realms of thought and knowledge, from the earliest times to the present day, is in fact too long to mention.

FOOT NOTES

1. The Valley of Kashmir has not only been celebrated as 'Firdos bar ru-i-zamin' (Paradise on Earth), but also as 'Sharada Peetha' (the seat of the Goddess of Learning). The learned traditions are upheld in Kashmir even to this day.

2. Ref. *A History of Sanskrit Literature* by A.A. Macdonell (P. 175) :—

   "Here (in this land of Brahman sages) the adherents of the Yajurveda split up into several schools, which gradually spread over other parts of India, the Kathas, with their subdivision the Kapisthalas, being in the time of the Greeks located in the Panjab, and later in Kashmir also. The Kathas are now to be found in Kashmir only..."

3. Ref. *The Kashmirian Atharveda*, Stuttgart 1901. See, A *History of Indian Literature*[by Winternitz, Vol. 1, P. 12 in.
4. These books are published with critical notes on the text by Le Roy Carr Barrer and F. Edgerton in JAOS, Vols. 26, 30, 32, 34, 35, 37, 40-43, 1906-1923. Ibid.

   It was told by Dr. S. S. Batnagar in his Convocation address of J. & K. University, that the Vedas were committed to writting for the first time by a Risi of Kashmir.

5. Buddhism has had a long history in Kashmir. It was in vogue here from the time of Surrendra, the earliest Buddhist ruler of Kashmir, who preceded about a century the time of Ashoka (273-232 B.C.). The fourth Great Buddhist Council was held in Kashmir in the Kundalavana-vihara, near about the present Harwan water-reservoir, in Kanishka's time in the first century A.D. It is an event of great singnificance in the history of Buddhist learning. (Ref. *Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh* by J.N. Ganhar and P.N. Ganhar, P.61).

6. It was Nagarjuna, a native of Berar, who stayed long in Kasmir to study, and in consultation with Kashmirian scholars and thinkers, established 'the radical school of

Buddhism known as Mahayan'. (Ref. *Research* No. 1, P.4)

7. Refer Art. "Shaivism in Kashmir" by B.N. Kaul Nazir, *Research* No. 1 P. 4.

8. Ref. *Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh* by J. N. Ganhar and P. N. Ganhar.

9. Presidential Address by Dr. V. Raghavan, on the 21st AIOC; held in Kashmir, 1961.

10. The great poet Kalidasa, is known to be a native of Kashmir. An attempt has been made by the late Prof. Lacchmidhar of Delhi University to assign Kalidasa's home in Kashmir on the basis of numerous references in his own works in the descriptions of the Himalayas, especially the northen part of Kashmir or more definitely the Sindhu Valley. This is further supported by his patriotic mention of Kashmir in the Himalayas (in his *Shakuntala*) :—
"*Svargad-adhikataram nirvrtishanam-amrta-hrdam-ivavagadosmi*".
The scholar has noticed that the description of Alkapuri in *Meghadutta* clearly indicates that he presumably belonged to *Yaksa* (*Yacha*) family of Manyagam in Kashmir.

11. Presidential Address by Prof. Gauri Shankar in the Languages and Culture Section of AIOC., 21st Session, held in Kashmir, 1961.

12. Ref. Sivasvamin's *Kapphinabhyuday Mahakavya*, ed. by Prof. Gauri Shankar, Preface by Prof. Gulbahar Singh, P. ii. He writes that, in his own words the author of this Kavya was a pioneer of *Citrakavya* and well versed in many stories (*Vidita-bahu-katharthas-citra-kavyopadesta*) and that the mere melody of his words filled the hearts of scholars with wonder (*Yad-vani sruti-matrakena sudhiyam cetas-camatkarini*).

12. A. See Foot Note 9.

13. *Sharada-Peetha Research Series*, Part II, Art. *Kashmir a Centre of Learning*, by Dr. R. K. Kaw, P. 19-20.

14. Presidential Address by Dr. V. Raghavan, at the 21st AIOC, held in Kashmir, 1961.

15. *Sharada Peetha Research Series*, Part I, *The Doctrine of Recognition*, by Dr. R. K. Kaw, See PP. 2-3.

16. Presidential Address by Dr. Raghavan, at the 21st AIOC, held in Kashmir, 1961.

17. *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, ed. M.A. Stein, Bombay, 1892, trans by J.C. Dutt, Calc., 1898, and later by M.A. Stein and R.S. Pandit.

18. *Rajatarangini* of Jonaraja and others, trans J.C. Dutta, 1898.

19. *Nilamat-puranam* is edited with introduction etc. by R. L. Kanjilal, and J. D. Zadoo, Lahore 1924 (Punjab Sanskrit Series).

20. Ref. *Sharada Peetha Research Series*, II, P. 20 : Charaka was the Court physician of Kanishka. Kashmir seems to have enjoyed a great reputation as the home of Ayurvedic medicine. Dradhavala, one of its ancient physicians, revised the great work of Charaka, known as *Agnivesha Samhita*, G.M.D Sufi mentions in his Kashir (*The History of Kashmir*) two Ayurvedic physicians who, according to his informant, Dr. G. N. Mukherjee M.D., the author of *The History of Indian Medicine* flourished during the Muslim rule, namely, Narahari Pandit, the celebrated author of *Rajanaighantu* and *Madanga Suri*. Narahari is claimed by some scholars as a Dakshani Brahman. The Pandit is said to have flourished during the reigns of Simhadeva and Shahmir. Narahari is known as Narasimha and was the son of Isvara Suri, a Brahman of Kashmir. (*Kashir* Vol. II, P. 494).

21. *Bhaskari* is edited by Dr. K. C. Pandey and Prof K. A. Subramania lyer and published by the Superintendent, Printing and Stationary, U. P., Allahabad.

22. There are five codices of this work in the Raghunath Tample Library, Jammu, and a copy in a London Library, which appears to be a part of the translator's own original manuscript, See Presidential Address by Dr. V. Raghavan at the 21st AIOC, held in Kashmir, 1961.

23. Ref. the *Report of the Kashmir, Research Deptt.*, by J. C. Chatterji, published in 1909. Ref. the Introduction to the Catalogue of Sankrit Manuscripts in the Raghunath Temple Library, Jamu, by M. A. Stein. Dr. Grierson also reports that during the reign of Maharaja Ranvirsimha books of various languages were translated into Sanskrit and Bhasha. All these works, lying still in manuscripts in the famous Raghunath Temple Library, at Jammu, are yet a virgin field for exploration, research and publication.

24. Cited from the Presidential Address by Dr. V. Raghavan, at 21st AIOC, held in Kashmir, 1961. Dr. Raghavan said in his address. "The scholarly world cannot but be too grateful to the former Government of Kashmir for giving them the splendid library of Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies in which most of the literature (of Kashmir) has appeared. May I, on behalf of this Conference of ours, express before His Highness, the Prime Minister and the Vice-Chancellor, the hope that this Series will soon be revived which will offer us, as in the past, a continuous output of texts and studies bearing on Kashmir's contribution (to Sanskrit)."

CHAPTER 8

Kalhana and his Rajatarangini

Dr. Mrs. Madhvi Yasin

Indian architecture, sculpture, cave-temples and painting, in most cases, do not reveal the names of their authors. The peculiar trait of self-abnegation is specially characteristic of of Ancient India. This is also noticed in the case of some of the literary and historical works. In the case of *Rajatarangini*, "The River of Kings", we at least know the name of the author, but, here again, the whole ancestry and the life of the author is hidden in oblivion. Kalhana shares the common fate of the Indian authors of note whose memory lives solely in their works. The introductory note attached to the end of each book of *Rajatarangini*, gives the name of the author as 'Kalhana', 'the son of the great Kashmiri Minister,' "the illustrious Lord Canpaka" Historical deductions reveal that he was a Brahmin by caste. The Sanskrit style of *Rajatarangini* is similar to that of the accepted style of the Pandits of Brahmin descent. The introduction to each book of his chronicle is begun by prayers to Shiva in his form of *Ardhnarishwar* representing the God in union with Parvati. Besides, Jonaraja, the continuator author of *Rajatarangini*, has referred Kalhana with the epithet "dvija". A study of his chronicle displays his friendly attitude towards Buddhism. His faith may be epitomized in one word "electicism".

The name Kalhana was derived through the Prakrit "Kalhan" from the Sanskrit word "Kalyana", meaning "blessed".

Kalhana wrote his work during the years 1148-1149. The style and the spirit of the work shows that the author must have attained a mature age. The elaborate description of the unsteady conditions of Sussal's reign (A. D. 1112-20) makes it clear that he must have been of age at that time. Hence, his probable date of birth might have been the beginning of the twelfth century.

The century of the birth of Kalhana was marked, in the history of Kashmir, by a dynastic upheaval resulting in many important political changes. King Harsha A.D. (1089-1101) seemed at first to give Kashmir a period of good government but he fell victim to his own lavishness and extravagances. After his murder, Kashmir, for seven years more, witnessed civil wars which brought death and destruction in its wake.

Kalhana was gifted with scientific approach and a critical temperament. His portrayal of the various classes of Kashmiri people is very graphic and true to life. The reaction of the common folk to the disturbed political conditions of the time, is full of realistic touches. He says that the people were "zealously prepared to welcome any change". His description of the idle and indifferent city crowds and their feelings, shows that he thoroughly understood the nature of his countrymen.

The unsettled political conditions of the time negatived all chances of patronage to the creative works of art; hence *Rajatarangini* was not written under the patronage of any King. Kalhana had a high sense of his responsibilities. He considers only historians "Worthy of praise, whose word, like that of a judge, keeps free from love or hatred in relating the facts of the past." and surpasses even the stream of nectar,...and can place the past times before the eyes of men !"

It is interesting to note that Kalhana prepared himself for the role of a poet. The Sanskrit classical poetry cultivated by Kalhana reveals that he had an intensive training in the Indian rhetoric, the *Alainkars'astra*, and the equal mastery of Sanskrit grammatical lore. His literary studies were deep and comprehensive. . All the literature of his time, beginning from Epics to Kalidas's works *Raghuvanisha* and *Meghduta* and Bilhan's *Vikramankadevacharita* and *Harshcharita*, were read by him. Stein says : "His literary training, indeed, had been of the strictly traditional trype and the manner in which he employed it shows no conscious departure from the conventional norm. Yet it is clear that Kalhana was not a man of schools, absorbed in his *Siastras.*"

Kalhana scrupulously studied the original sources including inscriptions of various kinds before he started writing, the *Rajatarangini*. He also studied coins and inspected buildings.

Kalhana found all possible avenues to hls hereditary career closed on account of unsettled political conditions of the country. So, the best way to employ his talents, he thought, was to write down the history of his country from ancient down to his time. He was also inspired by regional patriotism. By painting a glorious picture of the past he wished that the countrymen should shed the inferiority complex, feel proud and try to emulate their past traditions. Therefore, the Great Asoka, he shows, was the kind of Kashmir, whose examples were to be followed. It is Kalhana's sheer patriotism when he says : "Kashmir may be conquered by the force ot spiritual merits, but not by the force of soldiers."

Kalhana has honestly and impartially related the events. While recording the contemporary happenings Kalhana has presented the principal figures in their individual character and not as types. Here he represents a contrast to Baina and Bilhan in treating historical personages, who have painted their heroes all white and enemies all black.

Rajatarangini is a class by itself in Indian literature. It is very much different from *Charitas*, which were composed under royal patronage. The scholar-poets of *Charitas* had the rare gift of inventing fables and myths and applying their talent in glorifying the achievements of their patrons. Their works are masterpieces of literature dabbling in subtle poetic art, rhetorical embellishment, and *alainkarshastra—Rajatarangini*, on the other hand, is the work of a detached and impartial mind, viewing the past and present with historical acumen and not in a spirit of hero worship or pleasing patron. *Rajatarangini*, not only forms a class by itself in Sanskrit compositions but has a striking resemblance in character to the chronicles of mediaeval Europe and of the Islamic East.

While writing the first three books (chapters) of *Rajatarangini* Kalhana made full use of tradition whether written or oral, and the chronicles which were evidently based on such traditions. In writing down these traditions, at times, the critic in Kalhana comes out. For instance, he mentions three traditions of the death of the king Lalitaditya, without stating what is true, and comments : "When the great meet their end there arise—stories indicative of their uncommon grandeur". King Meghavahan's exploits have been described in such a fanciful manner, that Kalhana himself is apprehensive that they might not be accepted as true but he tries to justify them by comparing them with the cruelties of Harsha, which, in their town, might not be believed, but for them these were eyewitnesses.

For the last two chapters of his book main sources were his contemporaries, his father, fellow-countrymen and his own memory. Thus many incidents of the treachery of Bhiksacara's troops, he categorically writes, were witnessed by him. It is no surprise that much of the history of the previous two generations, he got from his father and father's friends who held key-posts in the politics of their times.

To give the details, *Rajatarangini*, consists of eight books (Chapters) of unequal size, written in Sanskrit in nearly 8,000 verses of rare literary merit. The text may roughly be divided into three sections :—

1. Books I—III, are based on traditions.
2. In Books IV—VI, dealing with Karakota and Utpala dynasties, he has made use of the works of earlier chronicles who were contemporaries or near contemporaries of the events they described.

3. For Books VII and VIII, dealing with the two Lohara dynasties, he made use of personal knowledge and eye-witness accounts, the latter often perhaps received at second or third hand.

The style of Rajatarangini is not crude or difficult. These are scattered verses adorned in flowery language or donned in fanciful imagery, of country Sanskrit. Kalhana's idea was that even a historical text must be a work of art and has tried to make his work attractive to readers. His accounts are graphic and vivid except in his last two books, where so many characters are introduced without proper introduction. Kalhana who had maintained strict adherence to chronology from the beginning of the book most religiously, had, in the second and third sections not followed it to the letter. Evidently he was writing his book for those, who were familiar with the events of the period.

Kalhana in writing *Rajatarangini* set a tradition for history writing. His book, after him, was continued by four successive historians from the point where he left, to some years after Kashmir's annexation by the Mughal Emperor Akbar.

The mission of a historian, according to Kalhana, is to make vivid before one's eyes pictures of a bygone age. History has a unique gift of immortalising personages and events, and in this it even surpasses the mythical ambrosia, while the latter immortalizes only the man who drinks it, the form of all those whom it touches. Kalhana was aware that his work would not only achieve permanency, but would enliven all the actors as well as himself. He had another object also in view. He says "This saga, which is properly made up, should be useful for kings as a stimulant or a sedative, like a physic, according to time and place". Kalhana expected that both good and bad Kings would derive profit from his work. He is a staunch advocate of historical impartiality.

Kalhana's assessment of more recent happenings is fair. He paints no character wholly black or white. He had deep insight into man's nature and his psychology. He says : "As in heaven the little clouds change shape, and take on the form of elephants, leopards, monsters, serpents, horses and other beasts—so do the waves of feeling change in the hearts of mortals, from kindness to harshness as the moments vary."

The didactic feature of *Rajatarangini* may be traced to the selection of *Sarta rasa i e.* sentiment of resignation. Here Kalhana's avowed motive is to show that material prosperity and royal possessions are objects of transitory glory. The evil acts of man recoil on his by the strange hands of destiny. In the same way, acts of policy, statecraft and individual conduct are again and again praised and analysed in the light of *Dharma* or *Nitishastra*.

Rajatarangini appears to wage a war in favour of benevolent despotism and deprecates feudalism. Believing in orthodox *Rajniti* (State-craft). he had his own conception of good government. Explicitly or implicitly *Rajatarangini* carries the idea that a strong king is the ideal king, who has firm control over unruly elements, but is benevolent towards his people and sympathetic to their wishes. He chooses his ministers with discretion, and listens to their counsels with respect. Kalhana has shown his unflinching disapproval of the *demars*, the petty feudal chiefs, who were the cause of anarchy and confusion in Kashmir since the death of Harsha. Another motive, perhaps, in writing *Rajatarangini* was to inspire the kings of Kashmir with their ancient glory and prowess, and to curb the unruly elements, who aimed at making the king weak. He says "The crab kills its father, and the white aunt destroys its mother, but the ungrateful *Kayesthas*; when thay become powerful, destroy every thing". At times Kalhana becomes pessimistic. The words put in the mouth of Harsha symbolises it : "This land, after having been a virtuous woman, has fallen like a prostitute into the arms of the insolent. Henceforth, whoever knows how to succeed by mere intrigue will aspire to that Kingdom whose power has gone." Here the historian shows his prophetic vision. He is no more simply a poet or a scholar.

Rajatarangini is a sage showing the force of *Karama*-

Whatever good or bad a man does in this life, Kalhana believes, reaps the harvest for that in the life to come. Often the force of *Karama* shapes events and provides the basic moral sanction.

Fate, according to Kalhana, is the second force influencing the human destiny. Fate is sometimes used as a synonym for God. God or the Gods often influence human affairs. Sometimes adverse fate is overcome by those who trust in their arms. Here also *Rajatarangini* gives another hopeful message to his countrymen that whatever fate the creator might have in store for them, only a strong king confident of his powers could save Kashmir.

Rajatarangini interlinks the *Karama* of the Kings with that of his subjects. Good Kings arise through the merits of their subject. A king and his subjects could mould the orders of nature.

This great work has also some shortcomings. The sources used by him, were not critically analysed and discussed. His narrative becomes more legendary and anecdotal in the middle of the ninth century, when one seems to reach contemporary records. "Of the defects of the records and the conflicting opinions which according to Kalhana's introduction rendered his task difficult, we nowhere receive a distinct indication." Fabulous stories, manifest impossibilities, exaggerations and superstitions beliefs, have been described as historical truths, which betrays his credulity. He has not separated historic legends from history. Similarly, Kalhana's chronology is also not based on scientific data. Of course, one cannot expect critical judgment in matters of chronology from an author who has started dating history from a legendary date of the coronation of Yudhisthar from epics, and attributes three hundred years to a single ruler, Ranadilya. Kalhana could not and should not be blamed for this, as it was general trend among the Indians, so precisely described by Alberuni : "Unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things, they are very careless in relating to chronological succession of their Kings, and when they are pressed for information, and are at a loss not knowing what to say, they invariably take to tale-telling".

Rajatarangini also presents a contrast within itself—its earlier part is a mass of friction, and later part, that is early medieval part, is real history. It vividly describes the falling glory of Kashmir—palace intrigues, murders, seditious civil wars and treachery. The life of the ordinary common folk has not been touched. It is the history of kings, royal families and nobility, justifying the title "River of the Kings".

CHAPTER 9

Kashmir Saivism and Vedanta

DR. B. N. PANDIT

Kashmir Saivism is possibly the most beautiful and the most highly developed school of Indian philosophy. It evolved in Kashmir between the seventh and the twelfth centuries of the Christian Era. The Panjab and all other frontier regions of India were frequently attacked first by Huns and then by Pathans in those centuries and, therefore, scholars and students could not come to, or go from, Kashmir freely and safely in those times. For this reason, knowledge of this most important school of Indian philosophy got itself confined to the boundaries of the Valley of Kashmir and could not spread in other parts of India. It is on account of this fact that the Saivism of Kashmir is very little known to scholars outside Kashmir even to this day. All the important works on this philosophy are written in Sanskrit. Very little has so for been written in English on this subject and practically nothing has been written on it in Hindi. There are a few translations of some minor works on Saivism available in English. The *Pratyabijna Vimarsini* of **Abhinavagupta,** the most important work on the subject, has recently been translated into English and has been published also. But it remains a fact that one cannot still learn much about Saivism even after studying this rendering. Only a person who can understand the original *Vimarsini* in Sanskrit can fully understand that translation with the help of the original Sanskrit. There are one or two independent works in English available on the subject, but those works also do not throw sufficient light on the fundamental principles of the Saivism of Kashmir. For this reason students are often misled and they become confused and begin to think that Kashmir Saivism is nothing but a Vedantic type of the Saivism of the South.

There is no doubt that there is sufficient accord and similarity between the principles of the Vedanta of **Gaudapada** and **Sankara,** on the one hand, and those of the Saivism of Kashmir, on the other. But, in spite of this accord and similarity, these two schools are as different from each other as are so many of the other schools of Indian philosophy. For that matter, there is accord and similarity on many points between Saivism and Buddhism or Saivism and *Sankhya* philosophy. But that does not mean that Saivism is identical with any of those schools of philosophy.

The Saivism of Kashmir and the Vedanta have complete accord on the following matters :—Both the schools of thought are monistic in outlook, both believe in the real existence of only the Absolute God in His transcendental and universal aspects, both consider the liberation of the soul from the bondage of the cycle of births and deaths as the final goal and the final aim of human life ; and, in the opinion of both, the true knowledge about the Absolute God is the means of that liberation. There are so many other points common to these two schools, but such points are common to all the religious philosophies of India.

The fundamental differences between Kashmir Saivism and the Vedanta are these :—Vedanta draws its inspiration mainly from the *Upanisads*, while the evolution of Saivism has been inspired by *Saiva Tantras*. Vedanta is Vedic in its character, but the character of Saivism is non-Vedic or Tantric. The origin of Vedanta is Vedic and Aryan and historical, but that of Saivism is non-Vedic, prehistoric and Indian. The religious cult of Saivism as well as the philosophic conception of *Siva* and *Sakti* and also the practice of the Saivaistic Yoga existed[1] popularly in India in the ages of the Indus Valley civilization.

Whether that civilization was Aryan, or Dravidian, or Semitic, or whether it was pre-Aryan or post-Aryan or contemporary to the Aryan civilization, has not been finally settled by the historians so far ; but there is no doubt that it was Indian and resembled the Hindu culture in so many respects. The Saiva philosophers of Kashmir have admitted that this cult and this school of thought existed in the hoary past and they were only its reorientators in the present age. It is very rarely that the *Vedas* and the *Upanisads* have been quoted by the important authors of works on Saivism. Quotations from the *Saiva Tantras* have been profusely given in the *Tantraloka* and other major works on Kashmir Saivism.

The authority of the Vedas has been accepted by the Saivas, but only in the social[3] aspect of Hindu religion and partly in its ritual aspect also. It has been advised by the Saivas that a true devotee should follow the Vedic creed as only a formality but should thoroughly practise devotion and yoga according to the way shown by the *Saiva Agamas.* So far as the practical path leading to absolute liberation is concerned, the Vedic system has been assigned the seventh position by the Saiva seers and this has been admitted by the disciples of Abhinavagupta also. There are six *Tantric* systems of worship which are considered to be successively higher than the Vedic systems. So many Vedantic principles, as taught by the *Upanisads*, have been refuted in detail by **Somananda** in his *Sivadrsti.*

Let us now discuss the difference between Saivism and Vedanta in their fundamental principles. According to the Vedanta the universe is false ; it has only a visionary existence like that of a mirage. The cause of this visionary appearance of the universe is a sort of ignorance, called *Avidya.* That *Avidya* has no beginning. It has been working through eternity but can be ended by means of true knowledge or *Vidya.* The powers of *Avidya* are to be admitted, but cannot be explained. It is, however, to be ended in order to achieve liberation from the never-ending cycle of transmigration. On the achievement of that liberation one gets merged into the Absolute Brahman. But that merger is no physical action.

In reality the soul was ever the Absolute Brahman itself, but on account of *Avidya* it considered itself as different from the Brahman ; and now when this *Avidya* vanishes, the soul realizes its true nature as Absolute Brahman. This realization is the real liberation and this is the final goal of human life. In reality there is nothing like a soul, or the universe, or any sort of bondage or liberation. All this is false and visionary and appears to exist because of *Avidya*. This *Avidya* also is not a real thing. Only the Absolute Brahman is real. He is tranquil and calm like space. His nature is *Sat*, *Cit* and *Ananda*, that is, existence, consciousness and bliss.

The Saivas raise objection to this view on the following points. If *Avidya* is false, it cannot be the cause of this universe which has been existing from times immemorial. How can a thing, which in false and unsubstantial, bring into existence anything full of substance ? It is not clear as to whom this *Avidya* involves. It cannot involve **Brahman** which is ever pure, all knowledge and all bliss. Now it could involve a limited soul, but no limited soul, according to the Vedanta, does ever exist. It is only the **Brahman** which exists. So Vedanta leaves this problem unsolved. Again , when this *Avidya* is apparent, is well known and is conceived also, then how is it that it cannot be explained ? A true philosophy should explain such an important topic. If this remains unexplained, the foundation of the whole Vedantic theory remains unexplained. A thing which has an end must have a beginning also. So this *Avidya* also must have some beginning and must have some cause. To say that it is beginningless and inexplicable is to betray one's lack of deep insight. It also amounts to self-deceit and incapability in teaching. Space-like tranquillity of the **Brahman** may mean his emptiness and lifelessness. When the **Brahman** is calm and ineffectual like pure space, then what is meant by his consciousness and bliss ? Space is never blissful and is never conscious. A conscious element is always active, because consciousness itself is a subtle activity. If the Brahman is conscious, it cannot be passive like space, and if it is like that, then it cannot have consciousness as its nature. Blissfulness also presupposes some sort of stir, though not a stir in the physical sense. It may be a subtle stir of consciousness. But Vedanta does not admit any sort of stir in the space-like Brahman.

How can a person dispense with the universe as something visionary and absolutely false ? Its visionary appearance also must have some substantial cause. What is that cause ? *Avidya* as its cause has been already discussed. This *Avidya* also is said to be of a visionary appearance ; and thus that appearance of *Avidya* also must have some cause which has not been well established in the Vedanta.

In the view of the Saivas, the universe is not absolutely false. It is true and the teaching and learning of the Vedanta itself are becoming possible through the existence of the universe ; otherwise, who would teach and who would learn ? The universe exists. It always existed in the all-pervading form of Siva. Siva has pure luminosity and pure consciousness as his form. Luminosity is not the luminosity of the light waves known to physicists. It is that luminosity by which consciousness makes itself always known to itself. A lifeless article cannot make itself evident without the assistance of some consciously knowing subject and hence cannot prove its existence by itself and therefore it is not self-luminous. But a knowing subject does not require anyone's help in proving its existence. Its existence is proved by its self-luminosity. Every person or every living being is by himself conscious of his existence in the form of 'I'. It is a different thing that some one may take this gross body (*deha*) and some one may take the fine mental body (*budhi*) as this 'I'. A wiser person may have this conception of 'I' on a subtler element, called *prana* (life-energy), and a still wiser one may go beyond it to the still subtler and space-like nihility, called *sunya*, in this matter. But the real 'I' is that in whose luminosity that nothingness of the *sunya* also appears in a dreamless sleep. That transcendental 'I' is pure luminosity and pure consciousness.

In fact, such consciousness is by itself luminous in nature and that luminosity is by its nature conscious, and thus these two are only two names of one and the same substance and that substance is God or *Parama Siva*. His luminosity is called as *Sakti* or his energy. As has been said above, this energy of Siva is a sort of stir in him. One can experience this stir in a fit of some emotion for just a moment. The mental body of a person is always active. There is a constant succession of ideas going on in one's mind. If one is mentally super-vigilant, then he can have the experience of this pure stir of consciousness in-between any two Ideas of the mind. This stir is the most important nature of the Absolute Siva. It is a sort of vibration, a sort of twinkling, a sort of dizziness or a sort of spilling (*chalakin*). In fact, it is a sort of constant inward and onward vibration-like activity of the consciousness. It is named as *Spanda* in Saivism. Because of this *Spanda*, the Absolute Siva is always feeling his transcendental as well as his universal aspects. His transcendental aspect is felt by him through the inward stir of that *Spanda* and his universal aspect is felt by him through its outward stir. Which of these two aspects of the Lord can be called true and which can be called false ? Both are true in reality. Therefore the Lord is not lifelessly tranquil like space. He is tranquil because he is free from the surges of lust and greed, pleasure and pain, likes and dislikes. etc. But within that tranquility, there is that stir of his pure consiousness of the pure and unlimited and all-pervading 'I'.

The universe exists in that pure 'I' in the form of 'I' and 'I' alone. It is that stir of consciousness which makes the universe appear in this objective form also which is known to all. Siva himself appears as a limited subject and as a limited object. He descends from his Sivahood to the position of a limited soul and again ascends from that position to the Absolute Sivahood. He is always ascending and descending in numberless forms and this play of his appears at the universe. This apparent form of the universe is imaginary because Siva has imagined himself to be of this form and thus it is the solid form of his imaginative energy. So this objective existence of the universe and the limited subjective existence of all the souls has only an imaginative existence. The true aspect of everything is pure luminosity and pure consciousness of the transcendental and universal 'I' and the imaginative existence is this which is known to all. This imaginative existence also is a sort of existence; and, therefore, the universe is not false; it exists. Its objective form is only the outward manifestation of the *Sakti* or energy of Siva and its pure and unlimited subjective form is the inward manifestation of that *Sakti Avidya*, etc., are manifested at certain stages of that outward manifestation. This two-fold manifestation is always going on in the Absolute form and this is his Sivahood or Godhood. Had he not had this energy to appear in this limited subjective and objective form of the universe, then he alone would have existed or even he may have or may not have existed at all; because there would not have been any one to discuss even this. But he exists and exists as Siva and therefore is always full of energy, which is a divine stir within his soul. That stir is always making this universe of limited subjectivity and objectivity appear in countless forms. Every soul is a hero in this divine drama of Siva and has to reach the conclusion of this drama by shaking off his self-imagined ignorance and by realizing his nature as Siva the Absolute. This is precisely the view of the Saivaistic philosophers of Kashmir.

Gaudapada has realized this nature of the self and there are clear hints to this effect found in his *Karikas*. Sankara also has at places expressed this view and so has Badarayana *Upanisads* also have preached this energetic nature of the Brahman. But, in spite of all this, this view-point has not been clearly discussed by any of the Vedantists. All the major works on Vedanta have emphasized the falsehood of the universe and the passive tranquillity of the Brahman. There are two points of view expressed in the *Upanisads* regarding the nature of the Brahman. One is the positive approach according to which it has been preached that everything is Brahman. I am Brahman, thou art That, and so on. The other approach is the negative approach, according to which it has been taught that the Brahman is not this. He is not that, He transcends all the objective elements, and so on. But it is this latter approach which has become popular with the authors of the major works on Vedanta. This one-sided view of the Truth popularized by the Vedantists has been responsible for all the criticism made on the Vedanta by other schools of Indian philosophy. Some have called the Vedantists as hidden Buddhists. There is so much confusion in the Vedantic exposition of the Truth. Students often become confused on reading *Brahma Sutras* and other works. The Saivaistic style of the exposition of the Truth is, on the other hand free from all confusion, and this also makes a marked difference between the two. The Vedantists are referred to as believers in the tranquil Brahman, in the Saiva philosophy of Kashmir. It is thus clear that Kashmir Saivaism is an independents school of thought and is very distinct and different from the Vedanta or any other Vedic or non-Vedic school of Indian philosophy. The Saivaism of the South is dualistic in its approach, but Kashmir Saivaism is absolutely monistic. This school of thought is one of the latest and most well-developed and fully evolved schools of Indian philosophy. But it is a great pity that it has remained hidden in the Valley of Kashmir. A still greater tragedy is this, that the system of its teaching and learning has now come to a close even among the Sanskritists of Kashmir, though it is still popular among some members of the spiritually-minded Hindu population of the Valley.

FOOT NOTE

1. The image of God Pasupati, the 'lingams', and the bust of a yogi, in Sambhavi Mudra, found in the remains at Mohenjodaro, are clear proofs of this statement. The worship of the Mother Goddess also was popular with the people of the Indus Valley in that age. The 'lingams' found there stand erect in the middle of 'Yonis' and thus suggest the worship of Sakti being performed along with that of Siva.

CHAPTER 10

Sufi Inspiration to Kashmiri Poetry

DR. R. K. KAW

Kashmiri poems are generally sung and are known for their melody 'soaring to the eternal moonlit snow'. They are mostly abounding in Sufi ideas and mystic experiences. It is apparent that Sufism engrossed the abounding poetic imagination of Kashmiris since its introduction into the valley in the 14th century when our first known Kashmiri poets Lalleshwari (Lal Ded) and Sheikh Nur-ud-Did flourished. It will be recalled that Sufi thoughts found expression exclusively in poetry while it spread in various countries. The same tradition was followed in Kashmir as well.

Originally Sufism had given birth to nothing more than a lofty ethics and a subtle metaphysics. While it spread towards Iraq, Seria and Iran, it developed aesthetically in a manner soaring high above the ranges of pure speculation, as is apparent in the classical Persian poetry. The cult of love was fused with devotion early in the history of the Sufi movement and the language of human love was used freely to describe the relations between the mystic and his divine beloved. The marriage of romance to mysticism became an abiding feature in Persian poetry and more so in Kashmiri Lol-lyric. Human love is expressed by the typical Kashmiri Lol-lyric. 'Lol' is a Kashmiri word signifying an untranslatable "complex of love-longing and tugging at the heart". It is believed by Sufis that even earthly love is a type of spiritual, a bridge leading to reality. The mystic aspires to merge himself into the Lord, seeks oneness with God, the Truth, and becomes one with the Truth as Mansur declared : 'I am, the Truth, (ana'I-haqq) not minding the conventions of religion, for which transgression he had to give his life in price. The Kashmiri mystic poet pours forth the yearning of the human spirit for personal communion with God or friendship with God.

Lalleshwari (4th Century A.D.) :—In the ecstatic utterances of the first Kashmiri poetess saint Lalleshwari, known also Lal Ded (Granny Lal), the mystical fervour of the aspirant comes to a climax as she ejaculates : 'After searching and seeking I found God within my own soul". She Says :

"Lal bo luusas chaaraan ta gaaraan
Haal me kormas rasa-nisha ti
Vuchun hyotmas taa'dy diithi-mas baran
me-ti kal ganeyi zi zogmas tati.

'Searching and seeking Him, I Lalla, wearied myself
And even beyond my strength I strove;
Then, looking for Him, I found His doors closed and latched-
This deepened my longing and stiffened my resolve ;
And I would not move but stood where I was,
full of longing and love, to gaze on Him.'

Further She Says :—

Lal boh draayas lolare
Chaaraan luustum den keho raath
Vuchum pandith panani gare
suy me rotmas nechtur ta saath.

"Longingly for love did I, Lalla, set forth,
And many a day and night I searched ;
Then, lo, I saw the Pandit in my own home ;
Then did I fix upon the moment auspicious.
(That was the day of my auspicious star.)"

Lalla expresses her deep pessimistic outlook on the worldly objects in the following verse. She lays bare the innermost sanctuary of her heart which was seething with the angiuish and longing for the Divinity.

Lali h lalith vaday bo-day
chetta muhuch peyiy maay
roziy no pata loh-langarach chaay
neza-svaraph kyaah mothuy haay.

"I shall weep and weep for thee, my soul,
The illusion of the world hath befallen thee.
Not for thee will survive even the shadow of the objects thou lovest.
Which like an iron anchor tie thee to the world ;
Alas ! why, then, hast, thou forgot thine own true self ?

Lalla speaks about the extreme ascetism and self-denial which she practised for attaining Divine grace.

Mal vondi zolum Jigar morum
Teli Lal naav draam Yeli dali travi-mas tati.

"All impurities within me I burnt away.
And I did slay my heart,
I came to be known as the pious Lalla,
Only when I cleaved unto Him there :
Only when I sat, just there, waiting for his grace."

In the following verse, Lalla expresses the state of 'an-lhaqq' (union with God) and ecstasy,

Pot zuuni vothith mot bolanovum
Dag lalanavam dayisanzi prahe
Lali Lali karaan Laala vuzanovum
Miilith tas man shrochyom dahe

"At the early dawn I got up and sang to the mad one
(my heart mad on worldly pleasures),
And soothed his pain with the love of God.

Trying to realized "I am Lalla, I am Lalla," (My own true Self
which I realized was the same as the Supreme Self) I awakened my love ;
And became one with Him ; and the ten (Indriyas) were purified.

In the following verses, Lalla describes how, as seeker, she practised asceticusim and hard penance.

Heri ta mecay bona ta mecay meciya ditnam gulzaar,
Har shayi saahiba chadit bo cheyl
Meciya ditum gulzaar.
Paraan paraan zev taal fajim tasbih firaan anguji gajim
'Ashika vokhala valinj pashim pashim pashim hanaah rashim
Tabib 'ashak, 'arif grasham
Am jib daponam losus masai,
Par kal chajim ada Lal bithas rasaih.

Nund Ryosh (Sheikh Nur-ud-Din of Chraari Sharif) (b 1377 A. D.)

Kashmiri Sufi poets were fond of producing love poetry, the practice followed by the early sufis of Arab and Persia. The poet saint uses the passionate language of the devoted lover, like Rabia and Dhu-'l-Nun, to express his communion with God attained with divine love and extreme devotion.

Aashakh suy yus ashkasati daze
Son zan prazales pananuy paan
Ashkun naar yas valinji saze
ada mali vatiy suy laamakaan

The lover is he who burns with love,
Whose Self doth shine like gold.
When the man's heart lights up with the flame of love,
Then shall he reach the Infinite.

Compare this with the ejaculation of Rabia, the famous woman mystic of Basra. "It is the purest love when thou dost raise. The vail to my adoring gaze."

Sari travit rotuk me chayi
Me chayi chhaandaan luusum doh
Jaanas manz yali ratuk me chayi
Me che ta paanas ditum chhoh

Leaving every one I held you ;
Searching you I passed the whole day ;
When I caught you in my own soul,

I gave up (the difference between) 'I' 'you' and my individual being.
(My individual self became one with the Supreme Self).

In this verse the saint expresses the state of fana and his experience of an'lhaqq-union with God.

The saint expresses the same thougth in the following verse :-

Aanan faanan partavi haq pyom,
Hyuvai zonum gata-ta gaash
Saarinai harfan Kunui sabak pyom
Vana ha siiras gachhi maa faash

The poet chides his heart mad after the worldly pleasures :-

Nafso hiranani chhaala chhuk nivaan
Kyaa sanaa karak maranani gare
Vasun chuyi mechi tal kyaa chuk chhivaan

O my heart you are wandering like a deer (after the objects of pleasure). What will you do when you will die,...

The poet stresses the transitoriness of the world and expresses extreme pessimistic outlook on life. The terrors of death are presented first in all-Muhasibi's book (Kitab al Tawahhum). In Shaqiq's discourse, stress is laid on self-discipline "the warfare of the heart (which) consists in making war against the enemy (Satan-nafs) and striving with him and exhausting him."

Wahhab Khar :- The poet says :—

Love said "My beloved I shall create",
And there was tablet and pen.
The pen wrote the command of God.
Sing hey ho for joy.
Shaikh Sana'an recited the name of Rama,
And in an Indian girl he found his love,
He worshipped and idol and burnt the Kuran
Sing hey ho for joy

Compare this with a similar idea expressed by a Persian Sufi poet :—

Kaafari ashkam musalmaani marra darkaar nest.
Har-ragi man taar gashtah haajati zanaar nest.

Here the poet tells us in mystic language that after the aspirant reaches the highest state of his communion with God, the Beloved, he loses all the conventions of the religion.

Wahhab Khar's poetry is full of mystic allusion. In this verse he refers to the famous episode of Mansur who was executed for speaking an'lhaqq.

"I am the Truth", said Hazrat Mansur,
In his own mind he found his love,
That secret is difficult to tell
Sing he ho for joy !

'Since I tried to know the secret of man's being.
"And abeisance low I made,
The angels have begun to dance for joy,
Sing he ho for joy !

Aziz Darvish :- The saint expresses the state of fana and his expereince of an'lhaqq,

Menacle thy (self and make of it a) bridge (to span this ocean wide)
And, across, attain to the "Annihilation in the Divine",

Where there is no Hindu nor Musalman,
Hear, O, hear, that song so sweet.
Aziz-mot has gone crazy.
He is letting out love' secret among his fellow-men.
He has heard it from pious men and saints.
Hear, O, hear, that song so sweet.

Khawaja Habib :- The sufi poet expresses, in the language of wine and human love (like persian poets), as a devout seeker, his rapture of divine love and experienee of fana (merging in Divine unity) :

Whosoever realizes his own true Self,
Uncovers the vessels of wine,
Overflows with joy, is intoxicated,
And forgets his lower self :
He will not know a Hindu
From a Musalman.

In the cradle of my lap I shall roek thee,
I am utterly consumed with longing for thee,
Drink the wine ecstatic,
Rove in mid air like wasp-bee in the sky,
See, Shiva, like the sun, is everywhere.

Love's golden sword has pierced my side,
I know not where I was waylaid by Love :
When man suffers, then alone he knows.

Whoever goes to the Kabba will not turn back,
Every moment he will see the Vision Beatific,
And in the Ka'ba and the boundless he will roam.

Some drank cup after cup unceasingly ;
Some, in the act of drinking, attained to the goal ;
Some have despaired, while some still have hope.

All sought Him but none found
The infinitude of His Unity ;
He alone found the Light who struck the path of Self within.

The tradition of mystical verse continues. Following the Persian tradition, the mystic poet advocates the cult of the tavern and wine cup and is indifferrnt to convention, ritual and popular religion. The poets like Na'mah Sahib, Sochha Kral, Shamas Faqir, Arni-mal Wahab Khar, Gulam Hassan Ganai, Lachman Bhuth Nagam, Gulam Hassan Beg (Arif) and Master Zinda Koul and many others wrote mystical verses of varying degree of merit. Some poets speak of Mansur's an'alhaqq and execution repeatedly. A few instances are given below :—

Gulam Hassan Ganai :- His poetry is full of mystic allusions, for instance : "An'lhaqq" paryaava Mansuur mati

gaaphilav mani buuzith zonus na kenh
tami darapetha hyotun yaar panun sati-sati

('I and my love are one', said Mansur,
People heard him but did not understand ;
From the gallows he clung fast to his love
and proved his faith)

Compare with Khwaja Habib :-

Aarifav ta aashkav rachaay van
Manni buuz Mansuuri naara dazas tan
'an'lhaqq' por tami manz markan

(For love many devotees and lovers renounced the world
and betook themselves to woods ;
Mansur alone realized love's true meaning,
His body was set aflame ;
'I am the truth', said he openly,
He cared not what people would say.
A Persian poet says :-
Man name goyam an'lhaqq, yaar me goyad bigo.
Chuun nagoyam chuun maraa, dildaar me goyad bigo.

Gullam Hassan Ganai says :-

The poet is suffering from the fever of love,

There is no cure save (the wine of) Love's embrace;
O Saki (Cup-bearer, beloved), let me have a draught (of the wine)

Husanas lola-taabas dava kanh-na vasalaki mas-pyaala siva
Haa saakayo daama dita)

It seems that the poetesses Haba Khatun and Arnimal, who were deserted by their husbands, were also under the influence of Sufi thought and poetry so much so that, while giving utterance to their feelings of ordinary human love, they soared so high that they ultimately adumbrated Divine love in their poetry with the same Sufi devotion and zeal. The desertion (by their lovers) indeed awakened the Muse in them.

Abdul Qudus Rasa-javidani :- The same thoughts of Divine Love and ecstasy reechoe in the poetry of this sufi poet :-

I love thee dearly; thou disregardes me.
I flee to thee; thou flee'st from me.
What wouldest thou ? Command' I will obey;
Thy bidding I will do.
I drank my fill at the tavern of love;
I found thy wanton eyes bedew the cups of wine.
Unplait thy tresses lovely;
Rent into a hundred toothed rents
(by the keen darts of love),
My heart will serve thee for a comb.
Thy heart is pure, o paet,
What carest thou if they speak ill of thee ?

Lachman Bhat Nagam :-

Far and wide I roamed for love;	yaaradade yac dovum
In the blazing July sun	tapay dodum taalyun vesi
I left the cool comfort of Lar,	haramasay Laara aayes
I strayed into the Shalyun waste	kot lajis shaalyun vesi
At early dawn I left my home	Suli vile gari draalyas

Drawn out by love of God.	Tulamulice malaye
Not far from home, my path grew dark,	Lasajanay doh me luusum
Desolution stared me in the face.	buthi pyom Shaalyun vesi

Daya Ram Ganju :-

In the bewildering jungle of world's allurements,
I hunt thee alone as a lion doth his prey
with the hounds of my senses in hot pursuit.
When, O when, shall I rock Thee
in the winged cradle of my heart ?
When, O when shall I receive Thee
face to face, at the cool tryst of love ?
(madano az nata ada kar lalavath
hradayuk vuphavun prang
Sendabathi vatharay kuli-shehjaran.)

Gullam Hassn Beg Arif :- Mr. Beg is a deeply mystic poet. His poetry is saturated with spiritualistic and mystic thoughts of high order. He is fond of describing petty things, like village stream, unbaked brick, watch, 'Huqa' (hubble bubble) etc., in his poems in which he fuses mystical meanings and inward experience. Mr. Beg is a believer of the cult of Divine love and asceticism. His descriptions of outward things lead to inward mystical meanings.

Arah (*Village Stream*) :-

The hill-stream goes a singing;	Vonum aaran ba chus laaran
"I come dashing along	Yi yaavun chhum dohan taaran
To find my haven of peace,	Diluk taskiin chus chaaran

(While I am young and strong,)
For youth will not endure.
"In the ocean vast, One finds one's haven of peace."
This is what Arif says......
(Mahitas sati gach vaasil Diluk taskin bani haasil)
[In this poem Arif hints the doctrine of Tauhid (union of soul with God).]

Khaam Siir (*Unbaked brick*) :-

Siira baaji siira parizi siiruk sukhan, vaara neru naara rinda aadam ban Qaalib kunui chuk kunui karigar aab taaf sui kuniy mech zabar Aki zol naara paan beyi daz na tan siirayi chhu aadam siiras yithai dam Dam pukhta siiras siir maharam Thosi yiya kham siir chana thaharan

In this poem Arif hints that it is necessary to pass through the ordeal of divine love and devotion in order to achieve strength and lasting life just like a brick which is baked in a hot kiln.

Gar (*Watch*) :— Shaandas pyeth me chham gar yi bolaani
Aanii dunya faani zaan
Chonui moh ta taar harkat chaani, Arif harkat chaani anzraan
rozi kyaa baaqi kyach gachi faani Aani duniya faani zaan.

In this poem Arif hints at the transitoriness of the world. He says that God is the ultimate source of our life, just as spring is the source of motion in the watch. He advises us to meditate upon that source of life and know what is ever-lasting and what is transitory.

Master Zanda Koul :—Masterji is a mystical and deeply devotional poet who is fond of embodying forth the eternal lol-longing (yearning) of the human soul, the soul's quest for God. In the following poem he expresses his deep love of God :-

Friend, he gave me love-token in memory of our plighted troth.
I did not keep it safe, I did not prove worthy of it.
I should have lodged it in my heart............
(sumran panani dichanam premuk nishaana vesiye
rachrun togum na rovum. Osum na baana vesiye
Valinji manz thavun goch............)

I would offer my heart to Love, But it is not pure nor whole ;
With its rents and stains of shame What use can it be to him?

Words fail me ; how can I tell What my love has done to me?

Maqbul Shah Kralawari :- Maqbul was a progressive poet. Mosques and temples were severly criticised by him. He smashed all idols of religion which did not stand for unity and service to humanity. According to him pride of birth and belief in the fate have retarded the progress of the Society. Kralawari's poetry has trends of mysticism.

Acknowledgement :- Consulted Kashmir lyrics, selected and translated by **J. L. Koul;** Vernacular booklets—Kalam Sheikh-ul-Alam (Rishi Namah) Parts I, II, & III, Kalam Haba Khatun; Ramusi Arif; Kashmir publications of Cultural Academy (year 1959), etc.

CHAPTER 11

Philosophies of Kashmir

A. Kashmir Shaivism

SWAMI RAJANKA-LAKSMANA
(Gupt Ganga Brian, Srinagar)

Kashmir Shaivism is not a religion. It is a philosophy open to those who have the desire to understand it; hence, for its study there are no restrictions of caste, creed or colour.

Kashmir Shaivism is called the Trika Philosophy, the threefold science. To clarify, this three fold science is based on the three Energies of Lord Shiva. These three Energies are called Para, Parapara, and Apara (Supreme, Intermediate, and Inferior.) Para means the Supreme Energy of Lord Shiva, otherwise known as his subjective Energy. Parapara is the medium, the Intermediate Energy of Lord Shiva. It is called his cognitive Energy, The third, Apara, is Lord Shiva's Inferior Energy and is referred to as his Objective Energy.

In fact, the human being resides in the objective inferior energy of Lord Shiva. This Trika Philosphy of Kashmir Shaivism teaches us how this individual being immersed in inferior objective energy can be carried towards the Supreme, Subjective Energy of Lord Shiva through his cognitive, Intermediate Energy. So the purpose of studying this Trika system is to rise from objective energy through cognitive energy and finally be one with the subjective Energy of Lord Shiva.

As long as one resides in objective energy one is the victim of sadness and sorrow and is entangled in the wheel of repeated births and deaths. So one has to emerge from objective energy and enter into subjective energy, in which one is liberated from all this sadness, and becomes absolute in the attainment of final beautitude.

For this journey Trika thought has laid down three means within the body of cognitive energy, for it is cognitive energy alone that can carry you towards the subjective energy of Lord Shiva. The purpose of cognitive energy is to develop the limited being's capacity and ability to receive God-consciousness. In the body of cognitive energy, as we have said, are three means. The first and Supreme means is called Shambhavopaya. The second, intermediate means is called Shaktopaya and the third, inferior means is called Anavopaya. These means are handled and practised according to the abililty of the seeker.

Shambhavopava

Shambhavopaya is that path of which the Sadhaka must rid himself of the recitation of Mantras, of Sadhana based on breathing, meditation on particular deities, concentrating on some spiritual thought and so on. He has only to develop his awarness of 'I'—Consciousness and that too not in any particular place By the constant awareness of this 'I' 'conscisousness, individual 'I'—'Consciousness quickly vanishes as it is united with God-consciousness, wherein the Sdhaka is one with His Subjective Energy and becomes Jivan Mukhta (released in life)

This path is meant for those seekers who reside at the highest level of ability.

Shaktopava

Shaktopava is the means in which the aspirant or seeker has to develop concentration upon God-consciousness by means of some particular spiritual thought bestowed by the master. Here the Sadhaka has to concentrate on that particular thought of God-Consciousness without the support of Paranayama, Mantra and so on. He must develop God-Consciousness simply and only by meditating upon this thought. He has nothing to do with these discarded methods. That single thought of God-Consciousness will alone carry him to the Supreme State and Transcendental being. Shaktopaya is meant for those who have neither the highest nor the lowest power of meditating energy.

Anavopaya

Anavopaya is that means in which a Sadhaka who is endowed with an inferior capacity of mind and meditation must develop God-Consciousness by resorting to meditation on the two breaths, inhalation and exhalation, to the practive of Pranayama, the recitation of Mantras. In this third inferior path a Sadhaka has, of course, to develop God-consciousness, but, as he is not gifted with higher meditating capacity, he has to seek the support of these inferior methods (Pranayam etc.), that finally he may be carried to God-consciousness, in the end.

In fact, this system of Kashmiri Shaivism is based upon Tantras spoken by Lord Shiva. These Tantras are divided into three classes One class is that of the monistic tantras. They are called Bhairava Tantras.

The second group of Tantras is founded on the mono–dualistic aspect of Kashmir Shaivism. These Tantras are called Rudra Tantras.

The third class is based on dualistic Shaivism. These Tantras are called Shiva Tantras.

The philosophy of these Tantras was reoriginated at the beginning of Kaliyoga by sage Durvasa. Many centuries later this Tantric philosophy of Kashmir Shaivism was taught by four great Masters in four Great Schools, Paratyabhigna-School, Krama School, Kula-School, Spanda-School.

Paratyabhigna means Recognition: The realisation of what one has always been in one's essential, timeless nature. This system was expounded in Kashmir by Somananda.

The Krama school is grounded in Space, time and form. Its purpose is to develop such strength of awareness that one transcends the circle of time, space and form and thus becomes timeless, spaceless and formless. This thought of the Krama-School of Shaivism was taught by Shri Erakanatha.

The third school of Kashmir Shaivism is called the Kula system. The purpose of this school is to discard Individual Energy and to enter into blissful energy of the totality. This thought was re-orginated and taught by Sumatinatha in Kashmir.

The fourth, the Spanda School of this system was reorginated in Kashmir by Vasaguptanatha. Scands means 'Vibration' and the system which goes by its name directs the aspirant to concentrate on each and every movement in this world. Even the movement of a blade of grass will carry you to God-consciousness.

In fact these four schools are not separate from each other. All four carry the Sadhaks to the one and that is Universal God-consciousness.

This thought of Kashmir Shaivism is so great, world-affirming and Universal that it has deeply impressed many western minds also, holding out as it does the wonderful vision of this whole Universe as nothing but the Blissful energy of an all pervading consciousness, Lord Shiva. Some other time I shall vividly explain more and more of the secrets of Kashmir Shaivism.

B. Buddhism in Kashmir

J. N. GANHAR

Buddhism found its way into Kashmir about a century and a half after the *Parinirvana* of the Buddha. But though the faith was prevalent in the Valley in the time of the native ruler Surrendra, who ruled a few decades beefore Asoka, yet, it was in the time of the celebrated Mauryan emperor (273-236 B. C.) that the faith spread widely. Ashoka is known to have visited the Valley personnally also when he erected a number of *caityas* and stupas, in Srinagar and other localities.

Buddhism witnessed its Golden Age in Kashmir in the time of the Kushans who ruled in the first and second centuries of the Christian era. The Kushana rulers covered the Valley with the monastaries, *caityas* and other Buddhist foundations. Their munificent patronage of the faith gave it a great fillip.

The fourth Great Buddhist Council convoked by Kanishka, the greatest of the Kushan rulers, was held in Kashmir. This fact is attested by Hiuen Tsang, and by Tibetan in monks Bu-Ston and Tarantha. According to them, the Council which was called to reconcile the different interpretations of the faith by the various sects, was attended by 500 *arhats*, 500 *bodhisattvas* and 500 *pandits*.

The holding of the Council conferred great prestige on Kashmir as a seat of Buddhist leaning so much so that eminent Buddhist monks from other parts of India and Central Asia, China, and Tibet continued to visit it long after the pious labours of the Council had concluded. The illustrious Buddhist philosopher, Nagarjuna was in Kashmir in the time of the later Kushans. Under his guidance, the Buddhists defeated in disputation all the learned Brahamins in the land which, according to Kashmiri's native historian, Kalhana, was then "for the most part an appanage of the Budhists who had acquired lustre by renunciation." As the faith embraced almost all the people in the Valley, the traditional rites and customs fell into disuse.

Budhism suffered a decline at the end of the Kushan rule. The Valley, which enjoys a world-wide reputation on account of its scenic beauty and salubrious climate in summer, is a very cold place in winter. The winters were especially severe in olden days. In the years immediately following the lost of the Kushans, there were very heavy snowfalls for a number of winters in succession so much so that the ruler and his courtiers too were compelled to spend their winter outside the valley proper. The excessive snowfalls and the severity of the cold weather resulted in the death of large numbers of people. The Brahmans ascribed this natural calamity to the wrath of the Naga deities for the stoppage of the customary offerings to them under the influence of the Buddhist monks. This led to a revival of the former mode of worship.

A clear idea of the great impact that Buddhism had made on the people of Kashmir in Kushan times is available from the fact that when, following, them, the traditional mode of worship was restored, the Buddha was accorded a prominent place in the Hindu pantheon.

Worship of the Buddha is enjoined upon the Hindus of Kashmir in the *Nilamatapuranam*, especially on the auspicious occasion of his birthday. On this thrice-blessed day the Buddha's image was installed in *caityas* and temples and after bathing it in scented water worship was then offered in accordance with Budhist practice.

The *Buddha Poornima* festival which commemorated the birth, enlightenment and *mahaparinirvana* of the Buddha, was an occasion of great joy and festivity for the people. The walls of temples and *caityas* were decorated with paintings and there was dancing and singing. Scenes from the Sakyamuni's life are also likely to have been enacted on the occasion. Gifts of food clothes, cows, books etc, were made to the monks.

Though Buddhism ceased to be an active faith in Kashmir proper by about the end of the fifteenth century A.D., yet its impress on the people of the Valley is discernable to this day.

Buddhist influence on Kashmiris is available in relic worship and widespread use of charms and amulets by Hindus and Muslims alike. The enlightened philosophy of the Buddha has not been without its impact on them. It is not unlikely that the *Astamivrata*, the fast observed by large numbers of Kashmiri Hindus on the eighth day of the bright (lunar) half of the month even today, had a Buddhist orgin. In fact at present also, when an *astami* falls on Wednessday, it is called *Budha-astami*. And even now some Muslims in different parts of the Valley abstain from meat on the anniversaries of some of their sages and saints known as *rishis* The 'Order of the Rishis' is, by some, regarded as direct descendant of the Buddhist *Sangha*. These *rishis* also do not marry and devote themselves to piety and meditation. The junior ones in the order go about like the Buddhist *bh;kshus* to collect alms. Kashmir's noblest Muslim ruler Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70 A.D.) also 'abstained from flesh during the month of Ramazan'.

Buddhist influence on the art and architecture of Kashmir has been considerable. Last but not least, strong Buddhist influence on the people of the Valley many be seen in the qualities of tolerance, fellow feeling, compassion and charity that still form the distinguishing features of the character of a Kashmiri.

C. Position of Kashmiri Women in Nilamatapurna

P. L. TRAKROO
New Delhi

The position of women in any society largely depends upon the family structure and the cultural values attached to the freedom of inter-action she enjoys in it. In Western culture she is treated to be an equal partner in all spheres of life and her role in family is clearly envisaged. Broadly she enjoys tremendous freedom from birth to the grave in all aspects. Her life in family is coming up as a contract with defined roles and clear status. In Indian culture, however, the role of women has mostly remained diffused in the sense that she is not bound to the family with the ties of contract. Her status varies from culture to culture and consequently she is mostly treated as a sacrament to the family of procreation, Her code of conduct is significantly related to the larger values of Hindu culture. This should not mean that with the spurt of 19th century, she has remained isolated from all the rising expectations of life. Looking differently, in her role one can find a blend of tradition and modernity going together. When she entered into gainful occupations, she was obviously looked with more contempt than with respect. This attitude is gradually changing and the society at large has started accepting such a transition as a social fact.

Curiously enough, Kashmiri woman has never been considered "the living torch, illuminating the way to hell or the devourer of the intellect of man". In "Nilamatapurna" there is hardly any reference to any evil worn by her and she moves quite freely in the society, emulating as it were the free-going sparkling waters of the springs of her country.

Revealing aspect of her interaction with the outer circles and within the family, "Nilamatapurana" states "not only on the festival celebrated at home but also in the outdoor festivals, she is seen freely enjoying herself". Thus, on the ceremonies like ploughing the field, sowing the seeds, characterized by music, dance and feasting, the peasant's wife never remains behind and participates in the joyous festival celebrated in the refreshing open fields. In the happy valley of lakes, rivers and fountains, water sports could bring highest pleasure to the society and the Nilamata does not deny this pleasure to the ladies. It says, "The sowing maidens should specially play in the waters" during the celebration of Saravni festival.

Playing with man is allowed to women. We find them dressed in their best attire, perfumed with scents and decorated with ornaments, sporting in the company of man on the last day of Mahamana celebrations. There are many occasions when the ladies of the house are honoured. The head of the household is enjoined upon to honour them on the New Snowfall day. The mention of the presentation of gifts to friends wife is quite significant as it could have been possible only in a free atmosphere where women were allowed to move freely with no restrictions on their receipt of gifts from their husband's friends. Wife has been treated as a charm of the decorated bedroom in the night of Dipamala (Subha-Suptika) festival. Charming beauty and the life-long happiness of married life are the things prized by ladies of Kashmir.

The place of woman in religous activities also reveals some interesting features. They are not only allowed to accompany their husbands in the performance of various rites and ceremonies, but are also enjoined upon to perform singly some rites specially prescribed for them. God Chandah is to be worshipped and rajasvala Kashmir is to be bathed by women alone. The triad of the 4th day (Caturthitritya) is to be specially observed by ladies. Another factor which largely is a part of Hindu culture itself pointing to the high position of women, is the prominance of the Goddess in the religion depicted. The Gods are mentioned often with their consorts. Even the rivers of Kashmir are also personified as Goddesses. Uma transforms herself in the Vitasta, Dit becomes the Chandravati and Lakshmi turns into the river Visoka. The very land of Kashmir is the mother Goddess Kashmira, a form of Uma.

On the whole, the Nilamata offers a pleasant picture of the woman of Kashmira. As a daughter, she was trained in fine arts etc, and was allowed to move freely in the society. By giving her in marriage, the father obtained religious merit. As a wife, she was loved and honoured by her husband and as a mother she shone with her sons who prized her highly. A would be mother could even be installed on the throne on the demise of her sonless husband-king . . . . This account of the women of Kashmira—respect in the home and esteemed highly outside—is quite different from the account available in other Puranas and so give a distinctive character to the Nilamata. The other Puranas generally despise and deprecate the ladies as seducers of men. To quote R. C. Hazra (Great women of India, pp. 221, 222). "As a matter of fact, in the Puranas, Women have not been allowed full freedom in the social and religious life under any circumstances and conjugal fidelity and devoted life have been praised.

D. Utpala's Mysticism

ABDUL HAMID 'SHAFIQ'

The fourth Budhistic Council, which was held in Kashmir in Kanishika's time was a warning to the Brahmins. Nagarjuna's preachings awakened the people and anti-Budhistic forces became active. This movement gave birth to the Kashmir School of Shaivism in the ninth century. Two great philosophers—Somananda and Vasugupta, were born in Kashmir by this time. They laid the foundation of *Pratiyabhijna School* and *Spanda School of Shaivism.* This system of thought was a reaction against Budhism prevalent then. Budhism believed in "unknowableness" and Shaivism believed in "bliss". It was no longer ritulistic wrangle but a scientific approach to the subject. It was this reorientation which ousted Budhism from Kasmir.

Somananda and Vasugupta were contemporaries, and Utpala belonged to the line of Somananda who was his Guru. Utpala was Parma-Guru of Abhinavagupta.

Utpala—known as Utpalacharya and Utpaldeva—lived in the middle of 900 A. D. He was a Brahmin and lived a married life. Somananda's *Shivadrishti* inspired him to write *Pralyabhijunasutras*—a book which is given a place of authority on Shaivism. It contains instructions on practical Yoga also. Utpala was a poet, a mystic and a philosopher. He discussed monism but his approach was different from that of Vasugupta. In escstasy he would sing rapturous notes intensely musical and full of meaning. He had passion for music which is common to mystics. He also wrote *Sivastotravali*, a collection of poems.

It contains very powerful hymns which reflect Utpala as a mad lover, a mystic, a devote and a drunken soul.

In his philosophy Utpala was more devotional than Shankara. Giving the conception of 'I' he writes :—

"I am the lord, I am the beautiful, I am the learned, I am the loved one; who is above me? Because of me shines the universe. This is the belief of thy devotees". This is a complete idea of Universal Consciousness.

What is great of Utpala is not his divergence from any hall-marked theology but his presentation of things irradiated by the light of understanding which shows that he lived in the world of which he speaks. In the spiritual path it is the actual experience that counts and not the discourses of philosophy. Utapala says :

At the time of Divine Grace thou hast never been tarrying, my Lord. What then hast happened to me today that thou art delaying to show thyself ?" He is not denying the existence of free will in man but is implying the indispensable character of Divine Grace. This sort of attitude is found in all mystics. Lal Ded saw him in everything that she saw; Tagore and Kabir felt him in everything that they touched.

Metaphysics of Utpala is not different from that of the Vedic doctrine. He says :—

"There is nothihg to be known from outside; my own light shines on all sides."

Giving the conception of Divinity, Utpala writes:—

"One who is secondless, thoughtless, infinitely deep and the very life-breath of all" Utpala possesses the awareness of mystery and the consciousness of the unknown. His mystical experience is reflected in the line :—

"O Lord, like the lightening flashes thy light sometimes".

Utpala's intellectualism and mysticism is of a high order. His school of selfintrospection is a school in itself. His love and music is soul- lifting. The chief character:stic of Utpala's language is symbolism. He has the power to penetrate human feelings and the magic to transform people. He possesses the alkahest which dissolves and purges off accretions of common life. The philospher has the dynamic touch to enrapture one. It is a great utterance when he sings :—

"Lord, let me have increased desire for the objective world like other people but this difference that I shall look upon it as thyself having lost duality".

CHAPTER 12

More about Kashmir

A. Kashmiris

ABDUL KHAN

Kashmir has always been the beacon of national solidarity, the impact of which can be clearly seen in all facets of the life of her people. It is found in their culture, language, history, dress, food and tastes, in their attitude, games and amusements. These factors which have operated over centuries and moulded Kashmir in this order, are so appealing that they never fail to arrest the attention of the people, who come to visit this most sublime part of the universe.

It should indeed be a matter of pleasant surprise to a visitor to witness in Kashmir the members of the two communities (Hindus and Muslims) equally holding in reverence the Hindu shrines and the Muslim Khan-i-Qahs situated closely or almost in the same premises. To illustrate this, the great Khan-i-Qah of Shah Hamdan, Temple of Kali, Shah Shhib's mosque, Ziyarat-i-Makhdoom Sahib, Hari Parbat, and Madin Sahib are edually held in esteem by Kashmiri. The people of Tulamula, both Hindus and Muslims, are often found swearing by the Hindu goddess Khir Bawani "At Fattehpura in the Verinag Ilaka, and at Waripura in the Magam **Ilaka**" writes Lawrence, (Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*', Reprint, p. 286) "I have seen the imprint of a foot in a stone worshipped by the Musalman's as Kadami-i-Rasul (the Prophet's foot prints) and by Hindus as Vishna pad (Vishnu's foot)".

Still more striking is the fact that whenever any appeal in terms of money is made through press or platform for repairs or further decoration of the shrines and the Khan-i-Qahs, all donate generously irrespective of religious differences. On the occasion of festivals, especially Id and Shivratri, the members of both the communities congregate and make presents to each other and even enjoy feasts together.

Again, both Hindus & Musalmans share one another's affluence as well as grief. A Musalman will always be found assisting his Hindu neighbour in giving a hearty welcome to bridegroom at the time of his daughter's marriage, and a Hindu is seen in grief among the funeral procession of the Muslim neighbour's relative. Muslim women do not lag behind. They are often seen in the *Baratis*, on the occasion of the marriage ceremony of their Hindu neighbours, reciting folk-songs on *Tunbaknaries*. Moreover, the marriages of the Hindus are contracted by professional go-betweens who are usually Muslims by faith; they also cremate their dead bodies which is especially unique.

COMMON TRADITIONS

Social consciousness is the outcome of common traditions and cultural unity which the Kashmiris have preserved inspite of their bitter experiences of political penury and economic subjugation through the ages. They have developed curious customs and manners. The curious prominance of Walnut and salt and the use of *Mehndhi* dye, for instance. Besides the *Mehnzrat*, or use of *mehndhi* dye in both religions there is the *laganchir* or fixing of the marriage day; *phirsal* the visit paid by the bridegroom to the bride's house after marriage; *gulimut* the giving of money and jewels; the dress and the title of the bridegroom as *maharaja* and of bride as *maharani chudsu*, the giving of presents on the fourth day after death, and the *wehrawari* and *barkhi*, the celebration respectively of birthday and the day of death. *Zar-Kasan*, the ceremony of shaving of head of the child when he enters the third year of his age, is common to both.

The basis of national solidarity may not be complete unless there is uniformity in dress and language among people of all shades. While language, the vehicle of expression and communication, implies common intercourse and thus strengthens the ties of friendship and brotherhood, common dress nonetheless continues to be a strong incentive to national fusion and feeling. The common language and the dress of Kashmiris are the distinguishing institutions of their common cultural heritage, *Phiron* (gown), *kurta* (shirt), *izar* (trousers), *dustar* or *pagri* (turban) and *paetu* (woolen bandage) have been commonly used by various social and religious groups in Kashmir. The Pandits wear *phiron* with long, narrow sleeves and a tight *izar* known as *kutana* whereas a Muslim has short full sleeves and a loose drawer known as *shilwar*. Abdul Fazal Jahangir failed to distinguish a Hindu from a Musalman, in an age when orthodoxy demanded absolute differences to be preserved in the mode of dress.

The use of most of these articles of dress have been current in the Valley from times immemorial. In ancient days, Kashmiris covered their heads with a piece of white cloth which gradually (after the establishment of Islam) came to be known as **dustar** (turban). Similarly **paetu** or bandage of woollen cloth still continues to be fastened around legs while travelling during winter.

However, *phiron* is considered as an indispensable article of dress without which a Kashmiri, irrespective of age and status, feels uncomfortable. A Kashmiri in fact feels a thrill of pride and pleasure in the *phiron*—made of woollen stuff in winter and cotton in summer—even though it subdues his warlike spirit. It is his culture. He rejoices in it and protects his body from extreme cold in winter. Again very little difference is to be found between the *phiron* of a man and a woman as this is worn to protect the body from cold. The women wear a coarse, grey woollen garment, open from the neck to the waist. They also use *kasaba* (a fillet tied round head) or *taranga* on the forehead. **Pulhoros** (straw shoes) were usually used during winter and *kharaworos* (wooden pattern) during wet weather. While *Pulhoros* have been discarded excepting in distant villages, *khaaworos* are still in use even in big towns of the Valley like Srinagar, Anantnag and Baramulla. And *kanger* is still preserved under the cover of *phiron* in winter as a protection against the blasts of cold. The Kashmiri sleeps and moves about with it. It is his dearest beloved, companion, friend and habit-code in winter. He cannot, in fact, digest his food without it. Consequently it has become so dominant in his life that a Kashmiri is always found willing to surrender his meals for a beloved *kangri-i-joosh*. There is a proverb: 'What Laila was to Majnu's bosom, the Kangari is to a Kashmiri'. The following adage also reflects his association, adherencc and attachment.

Aye Kangari aye Kangari,
Qurban tu hur o pori
chun dar bagal me girmat
dard az dila man me bari.

Oh, my Kangar, my dear Kangar, I sacrifice nymphs and fairies to you. When you are close to my bosom, all my trouble flee away.

Kashmiri language, which is a product of Kashmirian society has played a decisive role in stimulating the instinct for national fusion and unity. It has glorified the struggle for freedom, led almost all the reformative movements with success and united diverse currents of human activity during the most crucial periods of history in Kashmir. The main characteristic of Kashmiri language is its poetry, which has since a long period been actively working in relation to society. Lal Dad, Noor-ud-Din Wali, Mahjoor, Azad, Nadim and Rahi are very conspicuous in Kashmiri poetry, whose words have an emotional attachment with the heart and mind of all Kashmiris. They have all dedicated their poetry to the upliftment of humanity.

"*Do not go to Sheikh and priest and Mullah;*
Do not feed cattle on Arkhore leaves;
Do not shut thyself up in mosques or forests;
Clean thine own body with breath controlled in Communion

with God. (Sheikh Noor-ud-Din)
Hindu will keep the helm and Muslim ply the oars
Let you together row ashore the boat of this country (*Mahjoor*)
To become free, to end tyranny and to abolish superstition, this is my cherished dream. (*Azad*)

There are, of course, differences to be found in the diction of the two communities. For instance, a Kashmiri Musalman expresses the words such as water, river and ten in Kashmiri respectively as *aab. daryao* and *dah*, whereas a Hindu uses them as *poen*, *veath* and *deh*, but these are minor.

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

Amusements and games play their role in strengthening the ties of solidarity. The games commonly played by Kashmiri Hindus and Muslims give an additional uniformity, dignity, grace and discipline to their collective and social life. *Kabadi*, *goor-moor-i-goor*, *saza-i-long*, *tulay-langun* etc. are common and popular games played all over the valley and the loser has to give the winner a ride on his back, They have a great liking for music, folk-songs, *rouf* and *wanwun* (chorus) which are sung on *tumbakhnaries* (tabalas) by men as well as women. *Banda Pathaeras* (indigenous theatrical shows) are also great sources of enjoyment and pleasure for the common masses. These *Pathaeras* are performed by professional musicians and artists known as *band*. But the most interesting and harmonizing factor of their amusement is found in *suf-i-yana qulam,* songs of a Sufi order. These songs have an educative value and teach the lessons of unity, accord,amity and brotherhood. They are also receptive to historical themes and anecdotes which are connected with the lives and adventures of Nund Rishi and Laleshwari. Folk-tales, like, *Nemal-nagaria*, *Rustem dastan* and *ajab-malik-nosh lab* are recited in every home (of artisans, peasants and labourers) during winter.

Food and Beliefs

Common food and common beliefs are also vitally indispensable for establishing an unchanging base for national solidarity. While common food develops the unity of sentiments and tastes on the one hand, common beliefs do accommodate different groups of people socially and amicably on the other. And when we think of the common life of people of the 'Happy Valley' we are reminded of their social life, common food and beliefs. A Kashmiri, whether Muslim or Hindu, man or woman, rural or urban, rich or poor, is at his or her best in the dining hall (*dankutt*) with *Batta - hak, nadhur, suchal, and palak, Aibije, handiposh pambahak* and *haider* (mushroom) are largely eaten in the countryside.

No major change has been noticed so far, in the traditional taste and diet. As in ancient and medieval period, so in modern times, Kashmiris frequently eat fish, fowl, sheep and spices. *Goshtaba, kabab, rogan joosh* (meat preparations) *gad* (fish and various spices such as *ruban, Pran,* fungi) and saffron are so commonlv and largely eaten that it seems futile to divide the Kashmirian society into vegetarian and non-vegetarian sections.

Kashmiris are very fond of *shiri chai* and *kahwa;* salt and sugar tea. which are generally taken wiih *chuchwaroo* (bread) after prepared in *samawar*—a national institution in Kashmir.

As regards common faith in beliefs and superstitions, Kashmiris whether they adhere to Islam or Hinduism, are most tolerant, less religious and the most superstitious in the world. Unlike non-Kashmiri Muslims or Hindus. they are less religious and do not entertain a strict tenderness for the fundamentals of Islam or Hinduism and that is why Aurangzeb dubbed them (particularly the Musiims) as 'bapir' (vicious) and *betamiz*, lacking discretion. They are very superstitious attaching much importance to quaint legends which are associated with *asthans, kanqahas* and springs. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* records that the people of Kashmir 'are still srrongly influenced by their ancient superstitions" Refuting or neglecting them is considered a sin, which hardly any Kashmiri dare commit. To most of the people, they are known as *asthan-parast*, worshipping the shrines of those saints, sadhus and faqirs who are dead. The Muslim *khanqahas* and Hindu *asthans* are, therefore, a great rendezvous where members of both communities meet.

On the occasions of *Oorus Charar-i-Sharif* and *Shah Hamdan Sahib*, they are seen associated with each other commonly enjoying the pleasant blessings of these national festivals. Thus common worships of the saints and sadhus, and common beliefs and superstions are vital characteristics of Kashmiris which distinguish them from non-Kashmiris Muslims or Hindus. The Muslims of the Valley are considered to be Hindus at heart and vice-versa. Jahangir was surprised to see such characteristics and in his momentous work *Tuzk-i-Jahangiri* he has recorded that the Muslims of the Valley 'ally themselves with Hindus and both give and take girls'. Intermarriages between Hindus and Muslims have been common in the Valley from times immemorial. Dr. R. K. Parimu writes : "An estimation of the extent of adaptability and fusion among Hindus and Muslims of this region can be formed from the fact that as late as 1911, they (the people of Rajuri) retained not only their old Hindu caste names, as was the case among the Muslims of the Valley, but some Hindu customs and practices also. They pierced their ears and wore gold ear-rings. They put on the same dress and observed the same endogamous, exogamous and hypergamous rules in regard to marriages. They married children at tender ages and depreated widow remarriage. They made offerings to *Devis* and *Devtas* and retained Hindu rituals of marriage and death The hereditary family was paid its customary dues. In Rajouri. when a Muslim died, his widow was put into the grave along with as '*sati*'. They also gave to and took girls from the Hindus.

To conclude, the curious resemblance of culture and the remarkable commoness of attitude towards life has prepared the Kashmiris far a greater role of national integration rather than disintegration. They have always refused to be divided even when the rulers and anti-social elements for their vested interests attempted to sow the seeds of discord. Sir Francis Young Husband remarks. "Inspite of the splendid Mughals, brute Pathans, bullying Sikhs and rude Dogras, the Kashmiris remained the same." It is firmly expected as usual that any attempt to divide Kashmiris from any angle shall fail because they uphold the principles and aspirations of Nund Rishi and Lal Ded. Mahatma Gandhi said, "If at all I see any ray of hope, it is in Kashmir"

And it was for these reasons that the people of Kashmir refused to accept the two-nation theory envisaged in prepartition days and decided to accede to the Indian Union evidently for its policy of secularism and soialism "The refusal of the people of Kashmir to accept the so called two-nation theory", says Nehru "was not a mere political development but it had its roots in their long past and the culture they had developed". Kashmir's accession to India, therefore. explains nothing but the long cherished love of the people for the ideals of secularism and socialism which have gone to mould the character of the people of India as a whole.

Courtesy : *Patriot*

B. Growth of Opera in Kashmir

DINA NATH NADIM

The history of performing theatre in Kashmir is quite a recent one and that of a regular Kashmiri theatre in the modern sense, can be hardly traced back beyond the twenties of this century. But any attempt made to assess the growth or development of theatrical arts in Kashmir would remain incomplete, if it failed to delve deeper into the past and to draw plausible inferences from any direct and indirect allusions to these arts as they existed in the ancient history and the tradition of the Valley. So far as the historical evidence is considered one has to accept that it is rather scanty excepting for some references here and there in the *Rajtarangini*, and the writings of Kshemendra—particulary his *Loka Prakash* or *Kuttani Mala*. But as regards the evidence from tradition or folk lore, a lot of material which would throw sufficient light on these arts as they were then practised, awaits interpretation.

Today when am called upon to talk to you regarding the growth of Kashmiri Drama in general and opera in particular, you would permit me to make a casual sally into the past so that we could rediscover from the past, what is not distinctly clear to us at present. I admit that such a sally could at best be based on conjecture or surmise, but with the help of these loose threads a picture, even though a hazy one, could become discernible.

Going through Kalhana's *Rajtarangini* you will find a number of references to dancers who won acclaim from both the Kings and the people for their exceptional talents in depicting the human emotions through the medium of their art. One of the last Hindu kings Harshadev is said to have been a great patron of dance and drama, and even the dancers who belonged to the laity, were raised to the positions of eminent courtiers by him. Mention again could be made of the temple dancers, who like anywhere else in the country, maintained a very great standard of their art. Read alongwith the treatises of poetics, aesthetics and literary criticism of great masters like Kshemendra, Mammata, Anandvardhan and Abhinavgupta. We can safely deduce that the dance could not have been an isolated phenomenon of cultural life, but must have been an intrinsic ingredient of the dance drama which narrated the story of Kings and dieties. The extraordinary genius, with which the superstructure of 'Rasa' is raised over Bharat's *Natya Shastra* and allied theories pertaining to aesthetics, leave no doubt in our minds that the dance and drama must have attained the same heights as of poetry.

So far as a positive reference to drama goes, it appears in *Rajtarangini* of Jona Raja and Shrivara, wherin we find '*Zaina Vilas*' and '*Zaina Charith*' mentioned categorically as the plays were written and staged then. It will be interesting to note that even before we had *Zaina Charith*, we find another Kashmiri genius, the great Bilhana writing his memorable *Vikrama Charitha*, perhaps on the pattern of Bana's *Harsha Charitha*. And in our quite recent literary history we have again Prakash Ram's *Lav Kosh Charitha* and Parmanand's *Sodama Charitha* in the same line. What is, however, important about *Zaina Vilas* and *Zaina Chiratha* is that they are the very first Kashmiri dramas which are mentioned in the history. Unfortunately the manuscripts of both have not so far been found.

The next reference to the Kashmiri play that was staged during that period, is that of *Banaswara Vadh* which luckily is available today. It has already been transcribed into the present day Kashmiri-script by Shri Amin Kamil, according to whom it is a full-fledged opera with the '*Chhand*'—the tune, for each separate song given in the next. Thus we can build a factual history of Kashmiri drama from this period.

That much for the ancient historical evidence which is sufficient for the scope of the present talk. Let me now make a venture to interpret what is extant in our tradition and folklore. So for as our folk dance forms of today are concerned the only popular one is the '*Rof*', which has usually been referred to, by those who wrote about our folk culture. This form no doubt is very much in vogue, perhaps because of its racy tunes marking the highest pitch of our very popular '*Khakkri*'. Although '*Rof*' is mainly danced by women of festive occasions or by boy—danseuses in *Bacha Nagma*, it is clearly an offshoot of *Chakkri* which is a form of collective singing of both men and women. It is therefore evident that '*Rof*' must have been a dance form of collective folk jubilation in the days when singing and dancing was not a taboo. Besides 'R*of*' there are some other forms of folk dances which have not so far been mentioned very much anywhere. The most important is '*Dambaeli*', which is a deteriorated form of collective folk dancing that has lost most of the cadence of step and lilt of music. Danced with the accompaniment of '*Naghara*'—drum, and '*Suranai'—shehnai*, it is in vogue in the backward caste of '*Watals*' only. You will permit me here a little digression, to talk about these '*Watals*' and there love for music and dance, as it has some bearing on talk today. The '*Watals*' constitute the subcaste who pursue the profession of sweepers, scavengers and cobblers. They are mentioned as low castes subcastes in *Rajataringini* as well together with '*Dooms*' they have originally devised our drum '*Watal Nagara*', our '*Sarang*' the '*Watal Sarang*' and our dance '*Watal Damaeh*'. Even in our present times our danseuses and musicians hailed mostly from this subcaste. These danseuses are called *Naag Koor* in Kashmiri which means a Nag girl. Strangely enough, *Nagiray* of the famous folk tale '*Himal Nagiray*' is also revealed in the story as *Nagi Watul*. I wonder if these people are not the descendants of the aboriginal Nagas of Kashmir, whom the Aryans, when they came to Kashmir, treated as outcastes, and who later migrated to Himalayan Terai, Nepal and on the NEFA. Interestingly enough, the people in East Bengal and borders of

NEFA, have a dance similar to our *Dambaeli* and they call it *Damail.* Yet another lesser known dance form is the *Weegi-Nachun*, which is common among the Kashmiri Pandit women folk who dance round the bridal circle after the bride leaves for her husband's home. The song, to the tune of which *Weegi-Nachun* is danced, is usually benedictory, but the interesting aspect of the dance is that the *Chhand* used is the same that prominently recurs in *Banasura vadh* in the lyrics woven into that tale. The other two dances of benedictory type are the *Sidda Guru* and the *Bhandha-tchok.* While the former is an "after the marriage" dance, blessing the groom and the bride, the latter forms the prologue to the folk opera-cum-ballet popularly know as the traditional *Banda Paather.* And here I come to the real folk theatre as it exists at present in our countryside. The *Banda Paather* appears to be of a very ancient origin because of the many terms associated with it. The *Bhands* popularly known as *Bhagats* in some areas, have probably been attached to the place of worship in that area. At least this is positively true of the *Akingam Bhagats* where the institution and performance were solely dedicated to the local diety. The terms *Magnn* for *Mahaguni*, *Dirga Sutar* (present *Ladishah*) for '*Dirgha sutradhar*' who narrated the tale, *mukhot* for the mask etc. testify to the ancient history of *Bhands.* The repertoire of these *Bnands* includes *Raaza Paather Darza Paather*, *Gosani Paather*, *Shikargah*, *Bakarwaal Paather* and many more. Almost all the *Paathers* are dramatised anecdotes which must have been very popular as the performance always lampooned the oppressive agents of beaurocracy. The burlesque has, however, degenerated into vulgar dialogue and ribaldry and it is only through the bold endeavours of the *Akingam Bhagat* now that this ancient folk drama is being revived in its originally chaste form. What concerns my topic today is the fact that all the *Paathers* are intrinsically folk-operas which have lost their musical chores but are even today played with the accompaniment of *Surnai*, and the orchestral squad is known as '*Kantils*' meaning 'pipers'. With this background of a popular folk opera, we can be able to assess the epic poems, *Ramayana, Shiva Lagna, Sodama Charith, Radha swayamvara. Gulrez, Akanundan* and *Himal.* All these narrative poems are interspersed with songs and dialogues in verses and can be safely reckoned as operas in the tradition of both *Banasura Vadh* and *Bhanda Jashan*. It would be interesting to note that Parmanand and Krishan Dass used to dance in costumes, when they recited *Radha Swayamvara* or *Shiv Langa*. This kind of performance was called '*Tseth*' and provided the link between the *Jashan* and the *Raas*.

The story of the evolution of stage drama, as it came to Kashmir in the beginning of the century, begins with the seasonal visits of the *Raas mandlis* from U.P. and Punjab who performed in any available open space in a mohalla. These *mandlis* would begin their performance in the traditional style of *Krishna lila* and ended with the cheap ghazals in the vulgar key. As in *Bacha Naghma*, here also the boy-actresses played the female role and the performances would usually end in skull-breaking and hooliganism, because of the two vying sections of the listeners. As against the *Raas Lilas*, the *Ram Lilas* were very popular and through the patronage of Dogra rulers, attained a large measure of artistic perfection. The two parties who performed *Ram lilas* were the Punjabis and Bohras. Both vied with each other in achieving excellence.

Then we come to the advent of drama played on the stage. Here also the beginning was made by the ruler. Maharaja Partap Singh, who patronized the first dramatic club, known as *Amateur Dramatic Club*. The stage was erected at Basant Bagh and the then famous plays, *Bilawamangal*, *Veer Balak*, *Chandravati* and *Mahabarat* were staged there. The doyens of the theatrical movement then included Ram Krishna, Jeevan Nath Matoo and later on Shri Chet Ram Chopra. Soon after, another batch of youngmen created *Saraswati Dramatic Club* where *Mahabarat*, *Krishna Sudhama*, *Safeed Khoon*, *Khoobsoorat Bala*, *Khwab-i-Hasti* and many more were staged. The female role, as usual, was played by boys. The plays were either from Agha Hashar or from Betab and would be performed for the whole nights, The pattern of the plays was that of a Shakespearean play and could be classed as verse-plays with songs in between. The music for these dramas was composed by a talented artist Master Hari Vilas. The matrical prose dialogues would be declaimed rather than spoken as dialogues.

The Saraswati Club was followed by *Natianal Dramatic Club* and *Kashmir Dramatic Club*. The last performance *Patni Pratap* was staged by Kashmir Dramatic Club and the female role was played by ladies for the first time.

It was however in 1928 when the first Kashmiri play *Satch Kahwat* was staged. The play dealt with the theme of self-sacrifice of Harishchandra for Truth. This play followed the pattern of the Urdu plays already mentioned and could be classed as a verse-play, in a way akin to the opera style. The youngmen who performed in this play could not carry on for long as they became traditional *Raas Kath* or *Raas boys* a nick-name which all the theatre workers earned for themselves then. Since that pioneer Shivji Purbi started performing *Raas* and *Ram Lila* in Kashmiri style in the second decade of the century, the social taboo associated with the dramatic activity spelled its own death knell rather than the advent of the cinema, as often argued.

It was however in early forties that two Kashmiri plays *Greesi Sund Ghara* by Hajini and *Batahar* by Pardesi were written. Neither of them could be staged. But soon after 1947, with the great cultural upsurge unleashed by the success of freedom struggle, the dramatic activities were revived. The *Cultural Front*, which became *Cultural Congress* later on, started writing and staging Kashmiri plays regularly for sometime. And both on the stage and in the open air, these plays were witnessed by tens of thousands people,

It was in these crucial years of a cultural renaissance that an attempt was made at the instance of the Late Com. Dhanwantri to integrate some of the viril dance forms like *Bhadgra* of Jammu with those of Kashmiri forms. Besides, a conscious effort was made to lend such content to plays which could depict the life, and voice the aspirations of the people. Consequently a ballet sort of *Bhangra* titled *Land to the Tiller* was composed by your humble speaker, in 1949, and staged with success.

It was however in our quest for a suitable form in line with our legacy of lyrics and popular taste that *Bombur ta Yemberzal*, the first opera in the real sense of the word, was composed and staged a number of times in the state. In this opera the whole music was systematically composed on folk tunes and orchestrised properly- The story of the opera is based on a folk saying that the Bumble-bee and Narcissus, though in love with each other, never meet in life. Another opera *Rava Rupee* was composed in 1955 by Shri Amim Kamil but was not staged. Then in 1956 the folk tale of *Himal Nagirary* was composed by Roshan and myself and was staged. Yet another opera *Neki Badi* was composed and staged that very year, The other four operas composed by me since then are *Meghdoot*, based on Kalidas's famous poem, *Shihil Kul*, based on the theme of National Integration, *Safar ta Shehjaar* and *Vyeth*. Of these four, one only viz. *Shihil Rul* has been staged last year, and the other three have been broadcast from the Radio Kashmir, Srinagar. Yet another opera *Gulrez*, based on the famous *masnavi* of the same name by Maqbool Shah Kralwari, has been composed by Sh. G. R. Santosh and broadcast from the Radio Kashmir, Srinagar. Excepting *Himal Nagirary* and *Gulrez*, all the rest are based on symbolic technique with the Kashmir landscape serving as a live dimension to the themes. The characters are drawn from among the flowers, the song-birds, the breezes, the trees, the rivers and the lakes of the Valley. The beauty of the landscape together with the lilit of the haunting folk tunes and the cadence of soft *Rof* style steps, have to some measure justified the choice of this form of drama, as the one which on the one hand is rooted in traditional folk style and on the other guarantees a progressive growth of this particular art in the Valley.

With the new experiments in theatre art on modern lines conducted by many amateur clubs under the patronage of the *State Cultural Academy*, on the one hand, and the revival of *Bhand Theatrical Movement*, on the other, a sustained effort at opera composition and production is bound to complete the triangle so emphatically needed for the growth and development of Kashmiri drama todav.

C. *Kashur or Kashmiri Language*

NANDLAL CHATTA

The Kashmiri language is the language of the valley of Kashmir. In a dialectic it has spread south-west into the vallley of Kashtwar (*Sanskrit Kashthavat*) and to the south it has flowed over the Pir Pantsal Range into the lower hills lying north of river Chinab (Sanskrit *Chandrabhaga*) where it appears in a number of mixed dialects. The word *Kashmir* is derived from the Sanskrit *Kashmirika*. It is not the name used by the people of Kashmir itself. They call it KASHIR and the language KASHUR.

The Kashmir Census Report for 1911 (P. 179) says thus regarding the classification of Kashmiri :—'Kashmiri used to be hitherto treated as of Sanskritic origin. It has this time been grouped with Shina-Kohwari according to the revised system of classification, but the claim locally urged that it is essentially a Sanskritic language and in view of the historical fact that the valley of Kashmir, before its conversion to Islam, was wholly populated by Barahmans with the Shastaric lore, that claim may merit consideration'. As this point has thus been raised in an official publication of Kashmir Government it is advisable to discuss the question of the origin of Kashmiri language in some detail and in an unbiased manner.

In the first place, question of sentiment. however much, I, my self a Kashmiri Pandit, may sympathise with it, must be put altogether to one side, while dealing with a purely scientific question. No one can dare to under-value the contributions of Kashmiri Pandits to Sanskrit literature. For over two thousand or more years, this land has been a cradle of Sanskrit learning. From this valley have come masterpieces of History, Philosphy, Poetry, Fable and Romance. No one can deny the fact that this was an age when not only Kashmir but India as a whole was subjected to the civilization of Aryans, rather Indo-Aryans, whose language had developed into Sanskrit. Kashmiris spear-headed the the advancement of this culture to the far off lands, to Central Asia, China and places. Kashmiris are and should always be proud of the literary glories of their land. In reality every Kashmiri accepts that this land was once inhabited by a tribe named Yakshas and Pisachas, who, after a long process of strife, appeasment and other methods, were ultimately over come by the Aryan immigrants, i.e. our anscestors, *Nilamatpurana*, the special Purana of Kashmir—is clear evidance of this fact. This also is impossible that the literary actitvity of the country and the literary aetivity of the country and the imported culture (Sanskrit) should not have re-acted on the local vernacular. But all the time, the basis—the old speech of the original inhabitants i. e. Pisachas—has remained firmly established in the non-literary people, who always are in majority anywhere. should not be misunderstood that we the inhabitants of Kashmir are of Piscacha origin. The inhabitants of this land are no doubt representatives of an early immigration from India proper. So it can be said that Kashmiri language has a Pascachi base. Paschachi group of languages is now known as Darad group of languages.

Professor Ernst Kuhn of Munich (Germany) was the first research scholar to suggest that the dialects of Hindukush region along with Kashmiri formed a separate group within the body of Indo-Aryan languages. He suggested some phonetic peculiarities which are common in all languages.

Sir George Grierson has also claimed Kashmiri to be one of the Daradic languages which has immensly and for centuries been influenced by Sanskrit and a large number of words are derived from it.

The Darad languages possess many charactaristics which are peculiar to them-selves. In some respects these languages agree with Indo Aryan and in yet other respects, with Eranian languages. They Neither possess all the characteristics of Indo-Aryan nor of the Eranian languages. It is assumed that at time they issued from the parent stock i. e. Aryan language, the Indo-Aryan language had already branched off from it. On the other side the Aryan language had, by that time, developed further on its own lines in the direction of Eranian; but it had not as yet reached the typical characteristics of Eraian. Brifly speaking, Aryan is the parent stock from which shoots off the Indo-Aryan language at a very early date and passes down to Indo-Gangatic plain. Then before the other branch becomes Eranian, yet another branch shoots off, settles in what we now call Dardistan and becomes Dardic.

"The Dardic group of Aryan or Indo-Aryan comprises a number of speeches, which are current among very small mountain communities living on the frontier between Pakistan, Afganistan and India (in Kashmir) as well as in the North-eastern Afghanistan. The people speaking these languages, before their consquest and Islamization by the Afgans, were called Kafirs or "Infidels" and their languages (or dialects) were in general called "Kafir dialect." Following Sanskrit nomenclature, these dialects were also known as Piscacha dialects or "dialects of Goblins." The etanic-linguistic name. Dardic has now been established and accepted for them The Dardic speeches fall into three branches: (1) Shina; including Kashmiri (about 10 millions), Shina proper (over 25,000) and Kohistani (about 7,000) (2) Khowar or Chatrari or Chitrali; and (3) the Kafaristani (or Nuristani) dialects in Afghan territory, like Kalasha, Geawar-Bati, Pashai or Laghmani, Diri, Tirahi, Wat, Wasi-veri, Ashkum etc.

"In Kashmir; we have Shina and Kashmiri and some dialects allied to Kashmiri. Kashmiri appears to be in its bases a Daradic—Aryan dilect. But it has been profoundly influenced by Sanskrit and the Prakrits from very early times," Thus write the authors of *The Gazetteer of India.* Vol. I, 1965 Edn. at p. 318—386.

Sir George Grierson says, "The word 'Dard' has a long history and the people bearing the name are a very ancient tribe. They are spoken of in Sanskrit literature as 'Darda' or 'Darda'. Kalhana also refers to them in his *Rajtarangni* and mentions them as inhabiting the country where now live the Shins and are called Dards by Kashmiris. Greeks and Romans included, under the name of Dard country, the whole mountain tract between Hindukush mountain and the boundaries of India. Accordingly, this track containgin Astor, Bunji, Chilas, Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, Punial Yasin and Chitral has been known to the outsiders as Dardistan. The Aryan languages spoken in these places are conveniently or conventionally being called Daradic. But the inhabitants of these places now resent this and like their languages to be called after the name of their places i. e. Giligite etc. As a matter of fact they called Kashmir neither Kashir nor Kashmir but Kashrat.

'Many scholars claim that Kashmir is Indo Aryan rather than Dardic. We have to note that, excepting Grierson and one or two supporters of his view, most scholars consider Dardic to be a branch of Indo-Aryan. These Dardic dialects are largely on the way of extinction. Kashmiri, however, is one of the recognized national languages of the Indian Union.

'Notwithstanding the views of Grierson about Daradic being a separate group—one of the three—within the Aryan or Indo-Aryan branch of Indo-European, many eminent scholars of the Indo-Aryan believe that Darnic does not form a separate and self-contained group. They think that the Dadric speeches should be classified under Iodo-Aryan. This view is maintained by Tules Bloch, George Morgenstierne and R. L. Turner. The question has not yet beed fully decided. If this view is accepted, Kashmiri will be an Indo-Aryan language just like Bengali and Hindi'.

These obsesvatians in the *Gazetteer of India* have now been proved without doubt by a recent research on 'Banasur Katha' (not Banasur Vadh, as wrongly spoken so far), by Shri Shashi Shekhar Toshkhani, in his thesis for a doctorate. So it can now be said that Kashmir too is one of the prakrits of

Sanskrit. Many words esqecially verbs are even now in use, and an alien not being conversant with spoken Kashmiri, can trace the similarity of these words.

Kashmiri is the only language from the aforesaid Dardic—Aryan group, that has a rich literature, while others have nothing to their credit, Kashmiri has a tsue dialect which is spoken in Kashtwar and Badrwah. But Kashmiris do not take it to be a dialect. They believe it to be old and correct form of Kashmiri, which was current before the advent of Islam in Kashmir. This claim is justified by the historical fact that many times in past Kashmiris have taken refuge in these high hills, from the then prevalant political or religious persecution in the valley. The present—day inhabitants of these tracts are the descendants of those refugees of yore who migrated to these places via Batote. Batote as we call it now, was in fact then called Bath-vath i e. the vath (route) taken by Bats (Bhattas or Kashmiri Pandits) to reach these remotes corners for their safety.

In the standard Kashmiri of today there are minor differences of language. For instance, Kashmiri spoken by Muslims slightly differs from that spoken by the Kashmiri Pandits Not only is the vocabularly of the former more overlaid with the words borrowed from Persian, but also there is a slight difference of pronunciation too. For example Muslims call a Bror (cat) a Beor and krul (a well) keur and so on. Again there is a marked distinctlon between Marazi (Sankrit Madav-Rai) and Kamrazi (Sasnkrit Kardam Raj) i. e. South Kashmir and North Kashmir. Also there is difference of pronunciation between the talk of a Groost (villager) and Gandur (townsman). The language of Gujars has a marked difference and is much influenced by Kohistani or Pahari. There is also a marked difference between the language of poetry and prose.

D. Industries in Ancient Kashmir

ABDUL HAMID MALIK

Kashmir, since times immemorial, has enjoyed universal fame for the novelty of her industrial manufacturs and the exquisite quality of her arts and crafts. The fact is that some world famous articles like embroidered Shawls, Carpets and Papier machie have become synonymous with the word 'Kashmir'. In olden days, the world looked to Kashmir for the supply of the finest quality of paper, silk and woolen taxtiles, and even glass, guns and sword blades. Kashmir has always enjoyed a unique and envious position in the world of industrial crafts. Travellers and historians from earlist times have paid glowing tributes to the skill and craftsmanship of Kashmiris and to their acumen and enterprise. And it is also a fact that these unique and novel products—the products of the deft hands of Kashmiri artisans-have caught the imagination of kings and queens, emperors and empresses at all time-Emperors like Akbar, Napoleon Bonaparte and Queen Victoria offered and accepted the rare and celebrated gift of Kashmir—the Shawl.

The following are some historical observations made at random to bear testimony to this rich and glorious heritage of our beloved land, Kashmir.

The earliest evidence about the existence of some industries in Kashmir is provided by the excavations at Burzahom (Harvan) near the famous Shalimar Bagh. These excavations were first superintended by R. C. Kak in 1925 and later by DeTerra, leader of the Yale Cambridge Expedition in 1936. Among the objects which were unearthed at this place were highly black polished ware, polished bone tools, pointed butt-stone axes, hoes, pestle and home implements. Titles with geometrical designs were also unearthed. On one of the titles, there is the figure of a lady with transparent robes which indicates the existence of textile industry in Kashmir in ancient times. This is classified as protoneo-lithic industry and is of great antiquity. According to some they date back to 3000 to 1800 B. C. Gordon dates them back to 1200 B.C.

Besides textile industry, Pottery and Stone-carving have also existed in Kashmir since antiquity. The archaeological remains at Burzahom, Martand and Avantipura as well as the dlscovery of stone, copper and brass images provide evidence to this fact. Copper and brass images in particular, point to the existence of an advanced industry of casting and moulding of metals in ancient Kashmir.

The origin of textile industry of Kashmir lies in antiquity Its proof is found in Burzahama excavations. When the noted Chinese travellar, Hieun Tsang visited Kashmir in 631 A. D., he found the textile industry in Kashmir in a flourishing State. He has given a graphic picture of this industry and its various branches. Kashmiris were already acquainted with the manufacture of silk in his time. He has mentioned *Kansheya* i.e. a Silken cloth Calico, *Kashauma*—a kind of linen, *Kambala* which was a texture of fine wool as well as a highly prized sort and superfine wool which he called "*ho la li*" in his own tongue, as the principal textiles produced in Kashmir at that time. The finest of these textiles namely the "*ho la li*" may be inferred to resemble the shawl of the mediaeval period. In *Mahabharta*, there is an indirect reference to the existence of silk industry in Kashmir. Similarly Ksemendra's *Narmada* and *Samaya matrka* and Kalhana's *Rajatarangni* refer to the production of woolen blankets and other garments in Kashmir. Pattna (the modern Patan) was a city famous for weaving of cloth.

Jewellery, smithery, pottery, leatherwork, wood-work and stone-carving were the principal industries in ancient Kashmir besides the well advanced textile industry.

Since *Rajatarangni* makes frequent refrences to the use of glass, copper and leather, it must be presumed that these industries did exist in ancient Kashmir. The merchant Padmaraja used to send holy water to king Bhoja of Malwa in glass jars made in Kashmir.

Kalhana also mentions the use of gold bangles, armlets, rings and other ornaments by kings and queens and as such these industries must have existed in olden times. Masonary and sculpture as well as casting and moulding of metals had attained an advanced degree of perfection in ancient Kashmir. Boat and palanquin making were also common.

CHAPTER 13

Archeology of Kashmir (Abridged)

W. LAWRENCE

I have been in any villege which cannot show some relic of antiquity, curious stone miniatures of the old Kashmiri temples (KULR—MURU), huge stone seats of Mahadev (BADRIPATH). Phallic emblems, innumerable and carved images heaped in grotesque confusion by some clear spring, have met me at every turn...(They) were the works of the Buddhists or of the Pandus...When one comes to the more recent period of the Mughals tradition becomes more definite, and I have seen curious mosques, built in style unlike the present, of wooden beams with stones between, mostly raised by Aurangzeb. He built religious edifices, while the other Mughals, devoted themselves to stately pleasure domes, garden terraces, waterfalls and pretty summer houses. While the old Hindu buildings defy time and weather, the Musalman shrines and mosques crumble away and have little now, of their pristine grandeur. Here and there excellent masonry of Jehangir has withstood the great destroyer...As regards the older buildings of ancient Kashmir, it is hard to say whether it would possible to protect these monuments from further damage. I have often looked at Martand and noticed with sorrow that the temple to the North, supposed by Cunningham to be the face of RANESA, is sloping away from the main temple. But if Martand "a precious specimen of art, deserving a foremost place among the remains of antiquity is to be preserved, not only money but artistic skill would be required...I think the two relics of the old Hindus most worthy of preservation would be MARTAND and PAYECH. The former is the grandest of the ancient buildings, the latter the most perfect ..The shock of 1885 (earthquake) caused great damage to the buildings at Pattan ..chance excavations for irrigation and other works reveal curious sculptures and interesting relics of ancient history In 1882. Mr. Garrick, late of the Archaeological Survey of India, carried out extensive excavations at USHKPUR, near Baramula. He excavated a tope or Stupa of Squared stones held together with iron clamps in the hope of finding certain copper plates which, according to the Chinese pilgrim, HWEN THSANG, was deposited therein On the copper plates were engraved the proceedings of a Buddhist synod held in the reign of Kanishka. Mr. Garricks's excavations were through, but unsuccessful. It was at USHKPUR that Laltaditya is said ta have built an image of the MUKHTISWAMI and a large monastery with a stupa for the Buddhists. Along the Eastern side of the valley. one sees every where on the slopes of the mountains remains of ancient cities. I do not know how far these have been examined. I am also under the impression founded on what the people say, that many valuable relics have been carried away from Kashmir...The island on the WULAR (lake) is a notable example of this. To the explorer, I would recommend eastern side of the valley. Tradition assigned SUMBAL on the Jhelum, as the site of the ancient Jayapura, and the people say that excavations at Sumbal would reveal great treasurers...It is possible that systematic exploration might discover some of the wealth with which Lalitaditya and other conquerors endowed the valley.

The forts are recent, of Mughal or Pathan times, but the little palaces carry one back to the prehistoric ages when Kashmir was parcelled out along a number of princelings. The forts and kalaces are now mere heaps of stones, the abode of snakes and jackals, "the populous city is deserted and thorns and briers have cnme upon the land". A curious antiquity known as RAMAN KAN may be mentioed here...On the KUTRAJ karewa, near the village of Khushipura, the arrows of Ram Chander and Lachman are to be found. The arrows are of cut stone, Octagonal in section stand about four feet out of the ground. The karewa also has a number of depressions varying in size and depth and containing water and Weeds. This tableland was once the abode of the Rakshas, devils in human form. The Avatars at last, took compassion on the people thus oppressed, and preyed upon and fired accross Ram Koond and Lachman Koond, sacred places in MACHIPURA, where Hindus go to bathe and the Rakshas were slain...(Let me) repeat the words of the greatest of Indian antiquarians, the late Sir Alexander Cunningham...I reproduce the words contained in BATE'S Gazeteer :—

"The architectural remains of Kashmir are, perhaps, the most remarkable of the existing monuments of India, as they exhlbitunnoubted traces of the influence of Grecian art. The Hindu temple is generally a sort of architectural pasty, a huge collection of monumental fritters huddled together either with or without keeping while the Jain temple is usually a vast forest of pillars, made to look as unlike one another as possible by some paltry differences in their pretty details...On the other hand, the Kashmirian fanes are distinguished by the graceful elegance of their outlines, by the massive boldness of their parts, and by the happy propriety of their decorations. They cannot, indeed, vie with the severe simplicity of the PARTHENON nor with the luxuriant gracefulness of the monument at LYSICRATES, but they posssess great beauty, different indeed, yet quite their owu.

"The characteristic features of the Kashmirian architecture are its lofty pyramidal roofs, trefoiled doorways, covered by pyramidal pediments and the great width of its colum... niations. The Grecian pediments is very low and its roof exceedingly flat, the Kashmirian pediment, on the contrary, is extremely lofty and its roof high...(There) was, perhaps, another reason for the form of roofing peculiar to the two countries in the kind of material most readily procurable for buildings. In Greece, it was stone, in Kashmir it was timber. The former imposed low flat roofs with small intercolumniations, the latter suggested lofty roof and wide intercoluminations.

In the Kashmirian architecture the great width of the interval between the columns (which is constant) is, perhaps, the most characteristic feature of the order. Indded, I have suspicions that the distinctive mark of the Kashmirian style was well known to the Greeks...Now the interval between the Kashmirian pillars being always ARIO STYLE, I feel inclined to call the style of architecture used by the Aryans of Kashmir, the "ARIAN ORDER. The name it fully merits, for it is as much a distinct order of architecture as any one of the more celebrated classic Orders. Like them it is subject to known rules, which confine the genius of its architects within certain limits. A Kashmirian pillar is, indeed, distinguished from all Indian pillars by having a base, a shaft, and a Capital and each, besides, bearing a certain proportion to the diameter How unlike this to the column vagaries of the Hindus which are of all shapes as of all dimensions.

The superiority of the Kashmirian architecture over all other Indian buildings would appear to have been known to the Hindus themselves, for one of their names for the people of Kashmir is "SHASTRA SHILPINA, or 'architects' a term which could only have been applied to them on account of their wellknowu skill in building. Even now the Kashmiris are the most expert handicraftsmen of the East.. I will first describe the present state appearance of the principal buildings that still exist in Kashmir, all of which were accurately measured by myself in NOV., 1847. They are entirely composed of a blue limestone which is capable of taking the highest polish, a property to which I mainly attribute the present beautiful state of preservation of most of the Kashmirian building; not one of these temples has a name, excepting that of MARTAND, which is called in the corrupt Kashmirian pronunciation "MATAN", but they are all known by the general name of PANDAVAN KI LARI, or "Pandus . house"...(T) here may be some truth in the universal attribution of the Kashrian temples to the race of Pandus."

Most of the Kashmirian temples are more or less injured, but more particularly those at AWANTIPURA, which are mere heaps of ruins. Speaking of these temples, TREBECK

(Travels, vo, iv, p 245) says, "It is scarcely possible to imagine that the state of ruin to which they have been reduced has been the work of time or even of men, as their solidity is fully equal to that of the most massive monuments of Egypt; earthquakes must have been the chief agents in their overthrow." (p161)... (T)he whole of the superstrcture of these temples is now lying in one confused heap of stones totally dijoned from one another (T)he destruction of the Kashmirian temples is universally attributed both by story and by tradition, to the bigotted SIKANDER, whose idol breaking zeal procured him the tltle of BUT...SHIKAN, or "iconoclast". He was reigning at the period of Timurs invasion of Ind'a...I shall adhere to my opinion that the complete ruin of Awanti..pura temples could only have been effected by gunpowder.

(I)t is quite certain that Sikander could not have destryeed them all. He most likely gave orders that they should be overturned. For instance, the tomb of his own queen at Srinagar is built upon the foundation and with the materials of Hindu temple, likewise the wall which surrounds the tomb of his son, ZAIN...UL..AB..UL..DIN, was once the enclosure of a Hindu temple; and, lastly, the entrance of a Masjid in Nawashahra of Srinagar, is formed of two fitted pillars of a Hindu peristyle .. Even atfirst sight, one is immediately struck by the strong resemblance which the Kashmirian Columnades bear to the classical persistyle of Greece. The first impression is undoubtedly due to distinct division of the pillars into the three members...base, Shaft and Capital, as well as to the fluting of the shafts .. (S) ome of the principal mouldings are also peculiar to the Grecian Orders but more especially to the Doric. Thus the echino which is the leading feature of the Kashmirian Capital is also the chief member of the Doric Capital."

"Even the temples themselves with their parches and pediments, remind one more of Greece than of India Professor willis admits the prabability that the Kashmirian pediments may have been borrowed from those or the Syrian Greeks and he founds his opinion upon the ract that the trefoits arch of the Kashmirian temple rise high into the tympana of the pediments, a practice which was not introduced into the Classical architecture until after the commencement of the Christian era......"

"Another striking resemblance between the Kashmirian architecture and that of the various Grecian Orders is its stereoted style which during the long flourishing period of several centuries remains unchanged. In this respect it is in this respect it is so widely different from the ever varying forms and plastic vagaries of the Hindu architecture, that was impossible to conceive their evolution from a common origin feel convinced myself that several of the Kashmirian forms and many of the details, weree borrowed from the temples and the interior and the relative proportions of the different parts, were Hindu Origin. Such, in fact, must have been the case with imitations by Indian workmen." As a whole, I think that the Kashmirian architecture is fully entitled to be classed as a distinct style. I have, therefore, ventured to call it the "Arian Order".

BHUMJU or BHAUMAJO lies at the mouth of the Lidder valley and is reached from Islamabad .." The caves are situated on the left bank of the Lidder river about a mile vorth of the village of Bawan, the largest is dedicated to KALADERA. The cave temple stands at the far end of a natural but artificially enlarged figure in the limestone cliff. The entarance to the Cavern ...is carved into an architetectural doorway and a gloomy passage...lead from it to the door of the temple ..The square doorway is Hanked by two round headed niches dispoiled of their statues...There is no record nor tradition as to the time of erection ..close by is another cave of still greater extent, but with no architectural accessories, and about half a mile further up the valley at the root of clifi, are two temples, the largest of which has been converted into a Muhammadan tomb...The shrine of BABA RISHI and the tomb of his disciple RUKI DIN RISHI are also close by Hegel states that the Bhumju caves occupy a vary conspicuous place in the fables of the time Kashmiris and are supposed to have originated (in) the year Kah 2108 (993 B. C.)

AWANTIPUR lines on the right bank of the Jhelum and is distinct about 10 miles by land from the Srinagar." The ancient Capital of Awantipur was called after its founder, the famous king Awantivarma, who reigned from A.D. 854 to 883. The whole neighbourhood is strewn with ruins, but the only traces that remain of its former greatness are the two temples which he founded. They are now shapeless masses of ruins, but the gateway of both are standing, and the colonnade of the smaller temple...has recently been excavated. The style corresponds with that of the MARTAND quandrangle, but the semi-attached pillars of the arched recesses are enriched with elaborate carving of very varied character, while the large detached columns are somewhat less elegantly proportioned.

MARTAND lies on the Karewa above Islamabad..." The ruins of the Hindu temple of MARTAND . are situated on the highest part of a Karewa, where it commences to rise to its juncture with the mountains, about three miles east of Islamabad. The ruin is the most striking in site and situation of all the existing remains of Kashmir grandeur. The temple itself is not now more than 49 feet in height, but its solid walls and bold outlines, towering over the fluted pillars of the surrounding colonnade, give it a most imposing appearance. There are no pretty confused details, but all are distinct and massive and most admirably suited to the general character of the building. It is usually called the House of the PANDUS by the Brahmins, and by the people, "MARTAND", or the Sun, to which the temple was dedicated. The true date of the erection of this temple can be between A.D. 519 and 500. The mass of building now known by the name of Martand is of one lofty central edifice, with a small detached wing on each of the entrance, the whole standing in a large quardrangle, surrounded by colonnade of fluted pillars with intervenig trefoil headed recesses. The colonnade is recorded in the Rajatarangini as the work of the famous king Lalitaditya, who reigned from A.D. 693 to 729. The temple itself was built by RAN DITYA and the side chapels by his queen, AMRITAPRAKHA.

"Cunningham thinks that the erection of this sun...temple was suggested by the magnificent sunny prospect which its position commands. It overlooks the finest view in Kashmir, and, perhaps, in the known world. NARASTHAN is situated in the east of the valley about 30 miles from Srinagar via TRAHAT." This is one of the most interesting ruins in Kashmir. The cella stands in a walled enclosure about 65 feet square. PANDRATHAN lies on the Srinagar...Islamabad road and is easily reached from Srinagar. The place is remarkable for a very old and interesting Hindu temple, standing in the middle of the tank. PATTAN lies on the Srinagar -Baramulla road, about halfway between these places. It is recorded in the RAJATARANGINI that SANKARAVARMA who reigned from A.D. 883 to 900 A.D ..dedicated it to Mahadeva . two temples at this new capital of SANKARAPURA. This town is identified with the modern PATAN. In both the architecture is of the same character as of MARTAND, and of equal excellence. PAYECH lies about 19 miles from Srinagar, under the NAUNAGRI Karewa about six miles from the Jhelum river." On the south side of this village . is an ancient temple which in intrinsic beauty and elegance of outline is superior to all the existing remains in Kashmir of similar dimension. TAKHT . I...SULIMAN temple is stated to be the earliest of all temples in Kashmir. Baron Hegel records that its creation is ascribed to Gopi Ditya of the Gonerdya dynasty, 370 B.C., but later authorities agree that the first religious edifice on this site was built by Jaloka, the son of the great Buddhist convert Ashoka, about 200 B C. WANGAT is about three miles north of Wangat, at the head of the glen (where there are) some ruined temples. In antiquity, these temple ruins are supposed to rank next after those on TAKHT ...I...SULIMAN at Bhamju and at Payech. They are in two groups and consist of six and eleven distinct buildings. The architecture is of a slightly more advanced type than at PAYECH.

CHAPTER 20

The Wit of Kashmir

(A Selection)

BY PT. SUDARSHAN KASHKARI

1. **ab ti t'oth'uy tu' bab ti t'oth'uy**

ab and **bab** are both equally dear (: lovable ane likeable). [*bab* means father; *ab* is used either to rhyme with *bab*, or, may mean son]

Idea : A person has to choose one and only one of the two things equally lovable and likeable. He, however, would like to have both.

2. **adnaav aasun jaan badnaav nu'**

It is better to be of humble birth, or be inferior in social status and position, than live in ignomy.

[*adnaav* (Pers. adnaa): low-born or inferior; *badnaav* (Pers. badnaam): defamed.]

variant :

adnaav lasi badnaav nu'

A person of low birth shall (manage to) live, but a person who has incurred a bad name, shall not.

3. **ad'gaz maamu'ni d'uad'gaz poots**

One and a half yard poots for a half-yard tall maternal aunt.

[The ladies of Kashmir wear an oblong piece of fine cloth over their head-bands (*tarangas*) shaping it according to choice. This is called *poots*. Some ladies twist it and fold it into a double-ended long tail, and fasten it with a pin to their head-gear suspending it towards their back. It often reaches almost to their heels. When however, the wearer is a short woman it gives a ludicrous appearance. This very ludicrousness has produced the saying which has since become a proverb signifying incongruity of an award to a misfit.]

Comp : *A square peg in a round hole.*

4. **ad'yan ash tu' ad'yan khash**

To benefit some and slaughter others.

[*ash* (Pers. aish): enjoyment, hilarity.]

Comp : *To make fish of one and flesh of another.* Cf. also A 73.

5. **ahan maali kahan gaav**

(I can understand it) good sir : just the cow (in the care) of eleven.

[When there are too many persons in a house it is practically impossible to locate and fix the responsibility for damages etc., upon any one of them in particular. Every one is ready to deny the knowledge. The lady of the house, pained to see the state of affairs cries helplessly this mild rebuke.]

6. **akaa'ly posh**

A flower out of season.

[Belated seedling of an effete aristocracy.]

6. (a) **akaa'ly posh tu' kuakaa'ly varshun**

A flower out of season and an untimely shower (of rain). [Both are disliked since they serve no good purpose.]

7. **akh asun gav asunu' asun**

byaakh asun gav mod vasun

tre'yum asun gav kharas khasun

One (sort of) laugh is a smile for the sake of smile. Another sort is to lose one's dignity (: to become vulgar). The third sort is to ride an ass (: to commit oneself to ridicule)

OR

Laugh once, you laugh a smile.

Laugh twice, you break the bounds and lose your dignity
Laugh thrice, and make yourself a laughing stock.
[*mod* (sansk aamoda) : delight, liveliness.]

8. **akh aasun gav aasu'nu' aasun**

byaakh aasun gav aasun baasun

tre'yum aasun gav aasun naasun

One kind of possession is :

to possess in the real sense of the word;

(:to have enough so that the person who has it, may enjoy its benefit himself, and others may also be benefitted by it).

the second kind is to have only

to the extent of an idea that one has it;

(:to have only barely enough to live). the third kind is to have equal to having not

(:to have enough of it to enjoy within closed doors, so that others do not see it and no one is benefitted by it).

[*aasun* : to have; to possess (the necessities of life in general).]

9. **akh tsoor be'yi tsatu'raa'y**

A thief and an impostor in one.

Sense : Both a quack and a fraud, quite skilful at explanations.

[Applied to one who even though at fault is skilled in explaining things away.]

10. **akh divaan tsakhi saan**

byaakh rat'aan zoqu'saan

One (person) gives with reluctance, the other receives with pleasure.

[The recipient does not mind the reluctance on the part of the giver. It is all well with him so long as he gets what he wants.]

Comp : *To make virtue of a vice.*

11. **akh d'ud'u' be'yi maaji kyut t'ok**

(A person) himself an uninvited guest seeking an extra dish for his mother.

[*t'ok*: an earthen plate. It was in general use in Kashmir, in marriage parties among the Hindus, in the past. Beggars and some uninvited persons pushed themselves in among the guests, the moment the food was being served, because of their poverty, or a desire for tasting the delicacies prepared there. They tried every tact to secure an extra plate which they carried home. Hence the saying which has now become a proverb. It is applied where a person is not content with what is willingly offered to him, and shamelessly demands more]

12. **akh karaan tachhi bachhi**

byaakh divaan vachhi vachhi

One manages to live somehow (by hard labour); another beats his breast (: does not work but oddly complains, or is jealous).

13. **akh khuajas soo'ty batu' khyo'n**

be'yi sinis kun athu' nyun

To eat (at the same table or from the same plate) with the Khwaja (: a great man) and to stretch out one's hand towards the meat.

[It would be an honour for a poor man if a Khawaja should allow him to sit at his (the Khwaja's) table and partake in his own plate, but it would be the poor man's arrogance and rudeness should he touch the meat. (The Khwaja himself is supposed to distribute the meat).]

Comp : *To eat a man's food and be rude to him at the same time.*

14. **akh tu' akh gav kaah**

One and one make eleven.

[It is better to examine a question and decide it, with the help of another person.]

Comp : *Two heads are better than one.*

15. **akh vukur be'yi trakur**

A person who has had no luck in his life and is conceited at the same time.

16. **akhaah gomut heeri veeri mangaan t'ang**

A person gone off his head (: mad) looks for pears from a willow tree.

[*heer* : head. *heeri gatshun* : to go off one's head; to go mad.]

Idea : madness may be factual or circumstantial. The proverb has the latter intent. Destitution and despair make a person lose his head, lose the sense of discrimination in the matter of where what to seek.

Comp : *To expect grapes out of thistles.*

17. **aki kanu' bozun tu' be'yi kanu' traavun**

To listen through one ear and cast aside through the other.

[The same as "goes in at one ear and out at the other", leaves no impression.

Aiso used in the sense : forget & forgive.]

18. **akiy athu' chhanu' tumbakhnaa'r vazaan**

The tambourine does not sound with only one hand (It requires both hands to hold, strike and sound it).

[In Kashmir tambourines are made of clay.]

The proverb has also *tsu'r* in place of *tumbakhna'r*, which means clapping of the hands (: striking palms together).

Comp : *It takes two to make a quarrel.*

19. **akiy jan'du'ky paivand**

Joined tatters of the same rag.

Comp : *Chips of the same block; cast in the same mould.*

20. **akiy mas vaalu' / rumu' avezaan**

Hanging by a single hair (of the head).

(In a precarious condition: at the point of breaking down.)

21. **akiy naalu' phyaran kad'aan / tshu'naan**

(They are) pulling off / wearing (their) garments through a single collar (standing together clothed in one garment). [Most intimate and inseparable, "hand in glove," with each other].

22. **akuy o'bur tu' maag.**

akuy phaaqu' tu' draag

A single cold spell (is felt) like *maag*, and a single fast like famine.

[*Maag* is the mid-winter month and of all months the chilliest and the severest in Kashmir].

Idea : Inability and impatience to suffer even a single distress.

23. **alan hu'ndi daadi lagaan vaangu'nan ti sag**

In the yearning for the gourds (to save them from drying up) the brinjals are automatically watered.

[Bottle-gourds and brinjals (: egg-plants) are generally planted side by side.]

Idea : In benefitting one person many others are automatically benefitted.

24. **alaa'ndyan thapu'**

To take hold of (: to rely upon) the things which are themselves hanging (: an undependable support, "a broken reed").

Idea : To have faith in unreal things.

Comp : *To live in a fool's paradise.*

25. **ali ti shraakh tu bali ti shraakh**

A dagger this way and a dagger that way.

[A position that leaves only a choice between two equal evils.]

Comp : *On the horns of a dilemma*

26 **alu'kulis chob tulu'kulis rob**

Beat the gourd (plant) and warn the mulberry.

Idea : Young people may be punished to put them on the right path, and the grown-ups merely warned (:mere warning will do in their case).

[*rob* : show of prestige.]

27. **alu'kulis tulu'kul**

To make a mulberry tree of a gourd plant.

[To magnify and give undue importance to a trifling (matter).]

Cmp : *To make a mountain of a mole-hill.*

28. **amy ze'vi ka'lymu'**

amy ze'vi raam raam

To recite **Ka'lyma** (:Holy sentence in the Quran) and repet **Ram Ram** (:Lord's name in the Hindu scriptures, with the same tongue.

[To remain firm in no faith. To be no respecter of the principles, "a turn-coat".]

29. **an manaah tu' kar phanaah**

rachhun chhuy bo'd' guanaah

Bring a maund (:earn whatever you can) and consume; it is a great sin to save (anything).

[Spoken of a spend-thrift who spends all that he earns leaving nothing behind for the rainy day, an unforeseeing headless person who has taken to a hand-to-mouth existance.]

30. **andu' ro's tu' guad'u' ro's**

Without the end and without the beginning.

[Meaningless talk which has neither head nor tail.]

31. **anhe'tyan hu·ndy anhe'ty shury**

Relentless children of the retentless parents.

Comp : *Chips of the same old block.*

32. **anu'huryan armaan**

hu'hu' rymu'ty pashemaan

Unmarried persons pine for marriage, the married rue it. [The achievement of the sense-objects is, often, in the end, more remorseful than the craving for it.]

33. **ani rath' tu' kaani pilav**

Blind man to catch and the one-eyed to pass on.

Idea : allround carelessness.

Two persons are asked to handle a thing. One is to pass on and the other to catch (:hold) it. In actual handling the thing is dropped down and there comes this slur upon them both. One is pronounced blind and the other one-eyed.

34. **anyan manz kaa'ny suandar**

A one-eyed beauty [or, one-eyed is a beauty] among the blind.

Comp : *In the kingdom of the blind the oneeyed are kings. A figure among cyphers.*

35. **apu'zis nu' kuni baqaa'y/guad'.**

A lie has no life/root.
Comp : *A lie has no legs to stand upon.*

36. **ashraphyan khash tu mohran soor**

To slaughter **ashrafis** and burn **mohars**
(reduce mohars to ashes).
[To spend money lavishly.]

37. **asluk rutsar darshun moojood**

If life lasts friends shall meet.

[This is a prayer, a sincere wish, expressed by the people in general, and by the persons on sick bed in particular. As a matter of fact the real welfare of a person is that he lives and is not removed by death. Meetings with the friends, then only, matter and continue to be a reality.]

38. **asmaanu' pyath tu' butu'raa'ts dab**

Fallen from the sky, knocked down upon the earth [below].

Idea : At times the fate of a person takes such a turn that he feels himself "come tumbling down from an illusory height and lie bruised and wounded at the bottom.

39. **asun gav lasun**

To laugh is to live.
Comp : *Laugh and live. He who laughs lasts.*

40. **athu chho'l tu' mya'thu'r tso'l**

A friend goes away when he has washed his hands [after his meal with you].

Idea : He stays only until the last morsel is eaten up (:until your resources are spent up).

41. **athu' chho'n tu' myathu'r tshyo'n**

When hands are empty, the friend breaks away [:severes all friendly ties].

Comp : *Friends fall off in adversity.*

42. **athu' daarun gav paan ku'nun**

To stretch out one's hand [for a gift] is to sell one's self.] Idea : To accept a favour is to sell one's liberty.

43. **athu' haavun gav athu' khyaavun**

To show one's hand [:to have an open hand, to give freely] is to have the hand eaten up.

Idea : If you go on conceding the demands, demands shall go on multiplying, and there will be no end to them until all your resources are spent up.

Comp : *Daub your mouth with honey and you will get plenty of flies.*

44. **athu' pyav tu' kutan khyav**

A thing gone out of hands is [as it were] eaten up by a dog.

Idea : So long as a thing is in your own hands it belongs to you. When it goes out it exists for you no more.

Comp : *Once lost, for ever lost.*

45. **athu' shalu'ku khuatu' kathn' shalakh**

Chastisement by words is more effective a punishment than caning by hands.

46. **o'd' khyav grat'an tu' o'd grat'u khaari**

Half [of the corn] was eaten up by the mill-stone and half by the hopper.

Idea : Fruitless effort; absolute and all-round failure in life.

47. **o'n daand raavu'raan saasas daandas vath**

The blind ox leads a thousand oxen astray.

Comp : *One black sheep contaminates the whole flock. One rotten fish contaminates the whole pond*

48. **o'n kyaah zaani zag tu' pro'n/pro'n batu'**

What does a blind man know what is white and what is red/what white-rice food is ?

Comp : *A blind man is no judge of colours.*

49. **o'n ro'n gav kaari khuadaa**

naaphaham gav qahri khuadaa

The blind and the maimed are the doings of God, the unreasonable the curse of God.

50. **o'ngjan pyath' natsu'naavun**

To make a person dance (or to wind a person) round one's fingers.

Idea : To make a fool of. "To turn one round one's little finger."

51. **azmovmut gav povmut**

The person tried is a person thrown down (:subdued). Idea : The person whose qualities have been tested is "a horse bridled up," "a machine tried before it leaves the shop."

Comp : *The beaten path is the safe path.*

52. **aabas man'z kra'nd'**

The wicker-basket in the water (floating).

Idea : Recurrent income. Such income is, in this proverbial saying, likened to a wicker-basket which when put in the water always floats and never sinks. The person having such income maintains his position, honour and dignity in society with never any fear of fall.

53. **aamyan panan gan'du' gand'**

Untwisted threads under (the process of) joining together.

Idea : Untwisted threads are liable to break asunder when carelessly handled. The aphorism is generally used where and when marriage cases are under proposal. Slight mis-representations, either side, are feared to easily set the proposal at naught.

54. **aamu'ch kuaku'r gaa'mu‘ts pa'ty**

The hen about to brood/lay eggs, suddenly slipped/stopped (:failed in the nick of time).

Idea : Happy chances do come to a person, any time in his life, but unforeseen circumstances suddenly crop up, quite unexpectedly, at the last moment, leaving no room for them to mature. Hence,

to meet failure when success seems near and sure. (:to meet failure in success).

55. **aaru'man ka'd' nu' muj**

t^{u} pha'keeran daa'r^{u}'s kis/kisht

The vegetable cultivator had yet to dig out the radish and the begger presented his bowl.

Idea : Beggary is a nuisance. Beggars are most impatient. Greed and selfishness know no limits.

56. **aasaa chhukh d‘a'khu'raan**

tu' saasa chhukh katu'raan

You are stamping your staff upon the ground (obviously to support your weight) and crushing to death thousands (of insects under it).

Allusion : A certain dervish was once walking through a green field carrying a staff in his hand. He saw a young girl uprooting some green wild vegetable plants, here and there. At this sight there rose a feeling in his mind that the girl was committing a grave sin of killing the living plants. He, therefore, gave her a warning and advised her to stop committing this sin any more. Pat came *this sharp reply* from the girl, in return. The dervish understanding the retort and realizing the truth, threw away the staff, then and there, to use it never in his life again.

Idea : There are people always ready to point out other people's faults, and lecture to them on this and that, forgetting that they themselves have greater faults and commit greater sins everyday.

57. **aash roozin moojood**

Let hope sustain.

As long as there is hope there is life.

58. **aasun chhu he'chnfnaavaan/nechhinaanaan naasun mandu'chhaavaan**

Money brings wisdom/fame and want of it disgrace.

[*aasun* : having (:availability of) the essentials of life;

naasun : the not having (:non-availability); in short, money and want of money.]

Comp : *Money makes the mare go.*

59. **aav yeruv gav gaasuv**

(If it) comes (it is) all wool; (if it) goes (it is) but grass.
[Wool is costlier than grass (:many times more costly).]

Idea : Let us try. If we succeed so much the better; if not, we lose nothing.

60. **aayeyi vaa'nis tu' ga'yi kaandu'ras**

Had come to the grocer's but slipped away to the baker's (:from the grocer's across to the baker's).

Allusion : It is said that Laleshwari, the renowned saint of Kashmir, had once, in her nude state, made her way to a grocer's shop, to change as the events immediately following show. The grocer refused her admittance whereupon she slipped across to a baker's shop. There she straightway jumped into the oven, and in another moment came out clothed in celestial garb. The baker had the reward. Had the grocer not refused admission the reward would have been his.

Idea : The occurrence has brought forth the proverb signifying that favourable changes do come to a man off and on, which by mere foolishness he throws away.

61. **a'chh kaa'ny jaan vath kaa'ny nu' jaan**

Better to strike one's eye blind than to strike one's path blind (:make it unsmooth or block it).

Idea : It is better to shut one's eye and accept a proposal with a little disadvantage than make future relations unpleasent (or shut the door upon future negotiations).

62. **a'chh kon pa'chh kon karun**

To show oneself one-eyed (:to shut one's eye) and strike one side blind.

[*Pachh* (Sans. Pakhsha) ; side.]

Idea : To take sides in a partisan spirit, and weaken the cause of the other party.

63. **a'chh pyath' nu' ma'chh zu'ru'vu'ny**

To tolerate not even a fly upon the eye.

Idea : (*1*) (*Referentially*) : A parent will never tolerate a fly sitting on his child's eye.

(2) (*Proverbially*) : In extreme love and regard for each other friends will never tolerate each other's trouble howsoever slight it may be.

Hence to treat a person as "the apple of one's eye."

64. **a'chhin kachh tshu'nun**

To throw herbage (:some blinding herb-dust) in a man's eyes.

[To mislead by mis-representation.]

65. **a'chhirvaalav soo't kad'u'ny ka'nd'y**

To pull out the thorns (that have pierced into somebody's feet) with one's eyelashes.

[To make supreme sacrifice.]

66. **a'chhiv khuatu chhi ko'th'y door**

Knees are farther away than eyes.

[Eyes are nearer to the head than knees.]

Comp : (*1*) *Nearer to blood dearer to heart ;*
Blood is thicker than water;
(2) *Close to your body is your shirt,*
but closer still is your skin.

67. **a'chhiv vuchh tu kanav boz**

See with your eyes and hear with your ears.

[Use your eyes to see straight and your ears to hear accurately.]

Idea : See a thing carefully and do not mistake it; hear the words attentively and do not misunderstand them.

68. **a'du'r za't' hyu agaadi gatshun**

To cling closely like a wet rag to the body.

[To hang on and hanker after. "A hang-dog."]

Comp : *To stick like a bur.*

69. **a'ky tsa't' sum tu' saas gav kuali**

Some one damaged the causeway and thousands were drowned (as the result thereof).

Idea : For an unwise step taken by a single individual the whole community suffers tremendous loss. A wrong action by a single individual leads the whole community to disaster.

Comp · *A Single sinner sinks the boat.*

70. **a'ky khyav batu' tu' tsa'ky hov**
paan khyanu'vol mandu'chhav ranan vaa'lis saan

Only one man had taken meal, and the bottom of the cooking pot showed up. The taker of the meal was as much ashamed as the cook himself.

Idea : The saying indicates that the quantity of food cooked was so little that the pot emptied before satisfying even one man's hunger. It also points out the implications which scarcity carries with itself.

71. **a'ky khe'ycyi maa'j panu'ny buzith**
lookav duopu'has/phari chhu khyavaan

A poor man had roasted and eaten up his mother (:whatever little his mother had, or, had robbed his mother of her poor belongings and satisfied his hunger by buying a few roasted fish); the people supposed he relished roasted fish (:was living in luxury).

Idea : Poor men simply starve and people mock at them.

72. **a'ky niv gaam**

A single person carried away the village.

Idea : The aphorism is, in a way, a lesson on inspiration for a common man. It speaks of how by practising high and noble ideals and developing spiritual knowledge, an individual can inspire enthusiasm into a whole community and uplift it materially, socially and spiritually.

Allusion : A certain saintly person had, by his spiritual achivements, transported every individual of his village, to the higher regions (:the heavens), whereupon the people cried **a'ky niv gaam,** all round. As the immediate result of this cry the village itself began to be called **a'ky niv gaam,** abbreviated into **a'kingaam,** its present name.

73. **a'kis a'chh suarmu' tu'**
a'kis a'chh nilu'-thuath

(To supply) collyrium for one eye and copper sulphate for the other.

74. **a'kis dazaan daa'r**
byaakh vushinaavaan athu'

One person's window (or long beard) catches fire; another warms his hands on it.

Idea : Characteristic of a man who feasts himself upon another man's sad plight.

To take advantage of another's misery.

75. **a'kis manut' poshi nu'**

da'han da'h man gatshan nu'

One manut' (=1½ Seer) will not suffice for the requirements of one person; and ten man (or manuts) will not be needed for ten persons.

Idea : Describes a general principle of economy. If the number of members in a family increases the consumption of food decreases, the ratio of wastage being less than what it would be if the number of members decreased.

76. **a'ny su'nz kualai khuadaayas (havaalu')**

The blind man's wife to God's care.

[God is Himself her caretaker.]

Sense : God Himself looks after the helpless.

Comp : *He giveth grace unto the lowly.*

77. **an'y su'nzu' nav hanu'**

The blindman's nine or nine to the blind man.

Allusion : A lady feeling compassionate towards a blind child, gave him nine pieces when she gave only one each to those who were not blind. The child counting nine in his hand was pained for not being able to see for himself what other children had received. According to him they had every right to a better and greater share. Cognisant of his own infirmity he pondered over the point but could not make out anything to rid himself of his mental turmoil. It made him morose, gloomy, distressed and jealous. He lost his head and with it all sense of gratitude.

The proverb is used where a situation like this arises as a result of some special favour.

Comp : *An over-dose of praise is like ten lumps of sugar only a few people can swallow it.*

78. **an'y thapu'**

To grope about like a blind man.

[To look for a thing in darkness, or without even an idea where it should be. To stretch out one's hands and grope about like little children playing "catch catche" in the dark.]

79. **a'nim suay va'vu'm suay**
la'jim suay paanu'su'y

Myself I brought the nettles, myself again I planted them. (ah ! the mockery of fate) these nettles stung [me and me alone.

[Turn to pieces by one's own hands. Blown up by one's own bomb.]

80. **a'nis anigat'i doo'ph kyaah kari**

What help is a lamp to a blindman in darkness ?

Idea : A lamp is a dispeller of darkness for those who have eyes to see with. To a blindman it is of no use.

The proverb means, it is no use inflicting knowledge upon a person whose intellect is enveloped in the darkness of ignorance: enlightenment cannot penetrate his dark brain even though you may light the lamp of your whole wisdom upon him. (:waste your wisdom upon him).

81. **a'nis mush haavu'ny**
na savaab tu' na guanaah

To shake one's fist at a blind man is neither virtue nor vice (:neither sanctity nor sin).

Idea : The silent show of chivalry meant to infuriate and injure the feelings is absolutely meaningless before a blind man. He is too innocent to see and know how you behave.

82. **a'ndu'ry a'ndu'ry tsa'ndru'gom**

Inwardly at ts 'a' ndru'gaam (a village in Kashmir).

It should better read :

a'ndu'ry a'ndu'ry tsa'andu'r gom'

in which case the meaning would be :

"*Inwardly I am reduced to a cresent* (*like the moon after the full*).

Idea : No one can realize the feelings of a man, muchless the havoc raging there. He may be looking happy outwardly to avoid the public eye, but he alone knows what is happening inside him.

A pitiable and sad position. Acute mental suffering.

83. **a'ndru' dazaan paan' tu'**
nya'bru' zaalan lookan

Indoors, in fire himself : out-doors, firing others (:inciting others).

[Personally miserable, but behaving in a manner so as to rouse irritation in others.]

84. **a'ndru' khuash tu' ne'buru' vuash.**

To rejoice inwardly (at heart) and sob outwardly (for show).

["To shed crocodile tears." To make a false show of sympathy.]

85. **a'ndu'riy phatun th'aan dith.**

To burst from inside under a tightened lid (within one's own self, with no way out.

[To keep calm in difficult situations.]

Comp : *To suffer in silence. Great griefs are mute.*

86. **a's pis da'ny mushkil pe'ny**

A *da'ny* to (or into the plate of) a fool is a treatment too harsh (for him). (It works adversely upon him).

[*o'p* is a light-headed and long-tongued person, silly enough to exaggerate a chance favour.

da'ny is a slice of meat cut from the thigh-bone of a sheep. In meat preparations at great feasts, such slices are reserved for the guests deserving special attention. Should such a slice be, somehow, offered to a fool or should it be dropped into his plate by accident, it would do him more harm than good. He would be too proud of himself, cut a clumsy figure while munching it, and later go on bragging about it.

Sense : Undeserving and unworthy persons shall only be spoiled and made more undeserving if ever shown a special regard. They are not fit for it.

87. **a'ry aay syath'aah tu' o'r gav nu' kaanh**

Most people come into this world (are born) in sound health, but not a single one goes back in sound health.

Idea : This world is only a home of miseries and woes, pains and diseases. The end is unhappy in every case.

88. **a'ris paanas du'rku'.**

To apply leeches to a sound body (only to have the blood sucked out).

[To unnecessarily take upon oneself worries that will only drain out one's strength.

[To harm one's own self. "To dig one's own grave."]

89. **a'thy daa'ry buchhinay**
myaani a'chh mu' vuchhinay

There my wife ! let the reptile bite you bitterly enough, and my eyes not see it.

[The saying has its origin in the famous story of **Himal Nagray**. There was a Brahman named **Sudharaam**. He had a wife whom he loved dearly. His wife was also devoted to him. Poverty, however, made their life miserable and companionship detestable. One day he left his house in utter disgust. Coming into a forest he sat by the side of a spring to rest his weary limbs. He had a small hand-bag which he placed by his side. While he was thus napping a reptile emerged from out of the spring and crawled straight into the bag. He saw it and at once fastened the mouth of the bag with a string. A short while after he got up and, bag in hand, made straight for his home. Reaching there he handed over the bag to his wife, saying that it contained some treasure for her. He also instructed her to shut carefully the door and the windows of her room before unfastening it. The poor innocent woman did as he bade her. He waited outside to watch. When the woman unfastened the mouth of the bag out came a very handsome child. This child was **Naagraaj** (:the Serpent-king) himself in human form. She was extremely happy to see it. In abundance of joy she called her husband, at the top of her voice, to come in and see for himself the treasure he had brought. Knowing that the bag contained only a venomous reptile, he thought it must be teasing her with its frangs wherefore she cried so loud for help. He simply cried back.

"Let the reptile bite you and my eyes not see it."

These words have become colloquial, in similar situations.

90. **a'y zar yi khuash kariy ti kar**

Money ! do what you will.

[with money in hand, a man can do anything. Without money he is nothing.]

91. **aa'bas ti shaabu'shiy**

To consider one's own silly ways commendable.

Said of a person who feels proud of his own silly ways.]

92. **aa'sh kaa'sh tu' meny baa'sh**

(God grant you) hilarity and tranquillity, but put you in line with me.

[*kaa'sh* : religious fasts, hence the tranquility gained hereby, or the word may have been used simply to rhyme with *aa'sh* and *baa'sh*].

Sense : God may give you enough to live and enjoy, but keep you worried like myself. A happy wish and polite curse in one breath.

CHAPTER 21

An account of Persian Literature in Kashmir

DR. S. D. AHMED

The contribution of the sub-continent to Persian language and literature has been quite significant. During the reign and under the loving patronage of the Timurid Kings of India, populary known as the Mughals, art, crafts, language and literature of Iran and Central Asia reached its water-mark. The result was that a great many poets, writers and scholars versified and wrote books in Persian whose fame went beyond the frontiers of Indian Empire. The people of India, for whom Persian was entirely an alien language, received it, without any prejudice with open arms and within a period of hundred years, from the time of advent of Babur (932-937 A. H) to those of Shahjahan (1037 A. H.) Persian literature became supreme. And, as a famous contemporary Persian poet, Babur has himself said, India, from the view point of the development of Persian literature became no less than another Iran. Many famous Persian poets migrated to India where they expressed their poetical genius in a more congenial atmosphere and patronage. Nearly in each of the Indian States, the influence of Persian language is visible and in some States like Delhi, Hyderabad and Kashmir, the local languages were overshadowed by the brilliance of Persian and the people wholly took to Persian poetry.

The advent of Persian language and literature in Kashmir has its own history to which I shall refer presently, though it is a vast topic on which voluminous books can be written.

The cultural relations between Kashmir Central Asia and Iran are pretty old. From the tiles and slabs discovered from the Buddhist temple at Harwan about nine miles away from Srinagar and also from statues discovered from various places in Kashmir, it has now been established that Sasanian influence had also reached here. According to Stein, the translator of Kalhana's Rajtarangini and a great orientalist, whose investigations in Kashmir history and culture are well-known, the import of persian words like DABIR and GANJWAR in Sanskrit, also indicates Persian influence in Kashmir. At the same time, the religious thoughts and customs of Iranians were also influenced by Buddhism which was preached in Iran mostly by the Buddhist missionaries of Kashmir and Gandhara. After the 8th century of Hijrah Kashmir gradually submitted to the political and religious pressures of Islam. Even if Raja Lalitaditya (725-753) and Sangram Raja (397-427 A. H) stopped the Arab advance from Sind and Mahmood Ghaznavi's attack on Kashmir respectively, the rulers of Kashmir could not obstruct the flow of a forceful ideology and an impressive civilisation Vajraditya, son of Lalitaditya, acted according to the wishes of the Muslims divines and his successors under the influence of Turkish soldiers, recruited Muslims in their army, chose the Muslim dress and decoration for their army units. With the establishment of Turkish monarchy in Northern India, the influence of Iranian and Central Asian culture increased tremendously. But, inspite of all this, the cultural relations of Kashmir with the outer world remained limited because of high mountains that made the valley inaccessible. It was only with the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir that relations with Iran became more firm and close than ever.

In the thirteenth Century A. D. the Mongols had conquered a major portion of Europe and Asia. In the spring of 1320 A.D. Mongols under the leadership of Zulqudr Khan-known as Zulchu and a descendant of Chingiz, caused a great disturbance in the Valley. Suhadeve, the king of Kashmir, who ought to have given a determined fight upto the last breath, fled the place shamelessly and left the people of Kashmir in the blood-thirsty hands of Mongols. They killed them mercilessly, set their houses on fire and took the women and children as hostages. When after eight month's massacre and pillage they left the Valley, Kashmir relapsed into a state of anarchy. Disorder, confusion and morbid fear overtook the poor people who remained to such an extent that, even now, when nearly seven hundred years have passed since that painful calamity the Kashmiri mothers silence their babies by scaring them with the name of the Mongol Commander.

Absence of a regular Government gave a long-sought opportunity to a Buddhist prince of Ladakh, namely, Rinchen, who had taken refuge in Kashmir after having fled from his father, to seize the Royal throne and declare himself the king of Kashmir (1320 A. D.). Rinchen embraced Islam at the hands of Sayyid Sharfuddin (Abdurrahman) popularly known as Bulbul Shah who had arrived in Kashmir from Turkestan (or Khorasan). Bulbul Shah is the first missionary of Islam whose activities in spreading the religion and central Asian influence in Kashmir, are not unfortunately, discussed in the histories of Kashmir, and therefore we know very little of the Saint. However, Rinchen, now known as Sultan Sadruddin, caused his courtiers to adopt the new religion, and about ten thousand people, to quote a historian of Kashmir embraced Islam. Sultan Sadruddin ruled for three years (1320-1323 A. D.) and died in 1323 A. D. After his death his Queen Kota Rani, the Widow of Raja Suhadeva married Raja Udyandeva, the brother of her earlier husband, and declared him as king (728 A. H.). After Udyandeva's death (743 A. H.) Kota Rani herself ascended the throne. But Shahmir, who was the Prime Minister of Sultan Sadruddin and Raja Udyandeva challenged her claims. Shahmir had entered Kashmir from Swat (Pakistan) in quest of wealth and power and had, by the qualities of head and heart, made himself very powerful at the Court. During the struggle for the Royal throne between Shahmir and Kota Rani, Shahmir emerged victorious and founded in 1339 A. D. (743 A. H.) the famous Shahmiri dynasty. This celebrated dynasty produced some of the wisest and powerful kings, out of whom Sultan Zain-ul-Abideen (1420-1476 A. D.) popularly known as Budshah, was the most outstanding. After his death, this dynasty declined and the power was transferred to the Chak dynasty. The Chaks ruled over Kashmir till 1586 A. D. when Akbar, the Moghul Emperor, conquered Kashmir and annexed it to his empire.

During the 250 years of the Kashmir Sultanate cultural relations between Kashmir, on one hand, and Central Asia and Iran on the other, were greatly cemented and a number of reasons can be assigned to this development.

1. The advancement of Islam in Kashmir after the 14th century A.D. is related to the missionary activities of a group of accomplished mystics of Iran and Central Asia i. e. Smarkand and Bukhara, and Tajikistan who, as a result of Mongol onslaughts, and then due to Timur's attack fled their native land and sought refuge in Kashmir. As already mentioned. Rinchen embraced Islam at the hands of Sayyid Sharfuddin Bulbul Shah of Turkestan (or Khorasan) whose missionary activities in Kashmir are not much known. The most celebrated mystic who has to his credit the greatest contribution in propagating Islam and converting the people to this faith, was Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani from Hamadan popularly known in Kashmir as Amir-i-Kabir and Shah-e-Hamadan. Syyid Ali Hamadani, accompanied by a group of seven hundred Sayyids travelled through Central Asia where a considerable number of Sayyids and Scholars must have joined him namely from Hamadan, Samarkand, Bokhara and from Tajikistan and reached Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Qutbuddin (1372-1389 A. D.). These missionaries not only propagated their religion but also introduced Persian arts and Crafts and Persian language and literature. The well-known poet-philosopher Dr. Sheik Mohammad Iqbal has versified in Persian the achievements in brilliant words of Shah-i Hamadan.

سیدالسادات سالار عجم   دست او معمار تقریر امم
تاغزالی درس اللہ ھو گرفت   ذکر و فکر از دودمان او گرفت
مرشدآن کشور مینو نظیر   میرو درویش وسلاطین رامشیر
خطه راآن شاه دریا آستین   دادعلم صنعت وتهذیب ودین
آفریدآن مرد ایران صغیر   باهنرهای غریب ودلپذیر

After the demise of Shah-i-Hamadan, his son Mir Sayyid Mohammad Hamadani entered Kashmir at the head of the group of twelve hundred missionaries and pursued his illustrious father's activities. Sayyid Mohmmad stayed for twelve years in Kashmir and during this period he applied himself zealously towards the furtherance of educational, cultural and religious activities. After his return Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi from Talish (Khorasan), came to Kashmir as Iranian Ambassador by the end of the 15th Century A. D., and after staying for some years he returned back to Iran where he resigned from his post and revisited Kashmir as a missionary of Shia creed of Islam. The influx of these missionaries is extensively responsible for the transformation of Kashmiri Culture to the pattern of Iranian Culture, for as has been said, these mystics were the active propagators of Iranian Culture, and language and literature.

2. With the prevalence of Islam in Kashmir it became necessary for the Muslim scholars of Kashmir to visit Islamic countries, which in those times, were considered as great centres of Islamic culture and learning, for spiritual and mental inspiration. For this purpose the scholars and thinkers of Kashmir presented themselves in the nearest Islamic centres i.e. Herat, Merv, Semarqand and Bukhara and profited greatly by the presence of mystics, scholars and learned celebrities, with regard to Iranian and Central Asian culture and learning.

3. As a result of royal patronage, the Persians and Turko-Persians migrated to Kashmir from Iran and Central Asia

during the reign of Sultan Shahabuddin (1373-1384 A.D.). As a result of this, the social and cultural life of Kashmiris came directly under Persian and Central Asian influence. Jonaraja, the Brahman historian of Kashmir, has been a witness to these migration.

4. The Cultural contacts were also strengthened by the traders of Iran and Central Asia. Kashmir has had trade relations with the Tibet. China, Central Asia and Iran since time immemorial. The relations continued to exist during Kashmir Sultanate and the import of metals, carpets and silk products etc ; from Bokhara, Tashqand and Iran, became a great stimulant to the development and extension of arts and crafts in Kashmir.

5. The exchange of Ambassadors must also be considered as one of the most important factors. As we know from the chronicles of Kashmir, Shahrukh Mirza, son of Amir Timur, sent elephants and rubies and jewels as gifts to Sultan Zain-ul Abidin. The Sultan after having acknowledged the gift with great pleasure, wrote to him "If your Majesty would have considered to send to me a group of Scholars and learned men from your Court, my pleasure would have become manyfold". Shahrukh Mirza despatched six luminaries of his brilliant galaxy of Scholars alongwith many hundred books from his personal Royal Library to the Court of the Sultan of Kashmir.

There were friendly relations between the Sultan and Sultan Abu Sayid Mirza (1452-1467 A. D.), the last of the Timurin kings of Iran and Trans-Oxiana.

Exchange of Ambassadors also took place between Sultan Hasan Shah (1472-1484 A. D.) of Kashmir and Sultan Husain Mirza, the king of Khorasan. Mir Shamsuddin Iraqi, to whom we have briefly referred above, came to Kashmir as Ambassador of the same Persian monarch.

The Shia Chak kings of Kashmir established closer and stronger relations with Iran. But, unfortunately no details regarding this, are available in the local histories.

As a result of the establishment of all these cultural, political and religious relations with Iran and Central Asia, the Persian language and literature spread rapidly in Kashmir. The religious and national language during Hindu period in Kashmir was Sanskrit, but it was replaced by Persian from the times of Sultan Sikander (1389-1413 A. D.) and became popular very soon. The use of the famous verse.

به شعر حافظ شیراز میگویند و میرقصند
سیه چشمان کشمیری وترکان سمرقندی

by the famous poet, Hafiz Shirazi, in his *Lisan-ul-Ghaib* is not a pretension but a statement of fact. And as Iranians and people of Central Asia love Sadi, Hafiz and Maulana Rumi, people of Kashmir love them no less. Down to this day their verses are recited in mystic assemblies and private sittings and pleasure is derived.

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin's was a greater contribution towards the spread and development of Persian language and literature. He made Persian, the State language. Though his mother tongue was Kashmiri, he specialised in Persian language too. He spoke Persian fluently and entered into Improvisations with his court poet, Mulla Ahmad Kashmiri. The Sultan was also well versed in Persian prose and poetry and versified under the pen name of Qutb. The books in Persian on medicine, philosophy and literature were written under the personal care of the Sultan. According to Rieu, Mansur-bin-Ahmad wrote the book 'Kifayatul Mujahideh' on medicine, and dedicated it to the Sultan. He also wrote 'Tashrih' on Anatomy with useful notes, explanations and illustrations for Mirza Pir Mohammad, the grand child of Amir Timur. The Sultan himself wrote a book on Fire works in the form of a dialogue which later became a model for Kashmiri writers. The Sultan greatly disappointed with the rebellious attitude of his sons and the treachery of some of his courtiers, wrote a book "Shikayat" in which he dealt with the instability and fickleness of the World.

The Sultan installed a Bureau of Translation where Sanskrit books on different subjects were translated. Mulla Ahmad translated Mahabharata and Raj Tarangini into Persian and likewise, the Persian books written in Kashmiri and imported from Iran and Central Asia, were translated into Sanskrit by the Sanskrit Scholars. Mulla Ahmad also wrote in Persian a history of Kashmir entitled "Bahrul Amsar".

The Sultan's patronage equally embraced the Brahman scholars. The Brahman scholars and writers also held high posts in the Royal Court. Som Pandit was the Chairman of the Sanskrit section of the Bureau of translation. He wrote 'Zain Charitta', a book on the life of the Sultan in Sanskrit. Pandit Bodh Bhatta had committed Shahnama of Firdousi to memory and would recite it for the Sultan. The king founded a University at Nowshehra, in Srinagar to promote the various branches of knowledge and the sciences. The Library of this University which was built under the Sultan's personal care, equalled, as quoted by Dr. M. D. Sofi in his book 'Kashir', to any library of Iran and Central Asia. He also founded many schools and Colleges in various places of Kashmir.

The successors of the Sultan followed the footsteps of their predecessor and continued to promote Persian language and literature. Shreedhar, a historian at the court of Sultan Hasan Shah (1486-1493 : 1505-1516) translated Jami's Yusuf-o-Zalikha in Sanskrit and named it 'Katha-Kotika'. Sultan Hasan Shah founded a College "Darush Shafa" and his wife, Hayat Khatoon, got the old schools repaired and laid the foundation of a new one.

These Kings, great patrons of learning as they were, not only evinced keen interest in Persian language and literature, but most of them composed in Persian, and their court was adorned with the presence of such Iranian and Kashmiri poets as Uwais Kashmiri, Mulla Nadimi, Mulla Fasihi, Mulla Malihi, Maulana Husain Ghaznavi. Mulla Nadiri, Mulla Jameel, Mulla Ahmad Rumi, Mulla Mohammad Rumi and Mulla Ali Shirazi.

The Chak rulers, who succeeded the Shahmiris, also were great lovers of Persian learning and literature-Sultan Husain Shah Chak laid the foundations of 'Madrasa-i-Husain Shah'. He showed favours to the poets and himself also composed verses in Persian. Persian poetry became very popular during the reign of Sultan Yusuf Shah Chak (1580-1586) who had a talent and taste for Persian poetry besides music.

As a result of Persian assuming the envious position of court language, many Persian words, found entry into Sanskrit language. In some parts of the book 'Lok Prakash'. for instance, written during Kashmir Sultanate, Persian words like 'Silehdar', 'Khawas', 'Shahi' and 'Sultan' etc. and in histories written in Sanskrit by Jonaraj, Shridhar, Prajiya Bhatta and Suka, Turkish and Persian words like 'Khanqah', 'Rabab', 'Madrasah' and 'Masjid etc., have been used. But, the popularity of Sanskrit as a whole began to decline gradually. Though it did not vanish altogether Sanskrit language and literature continued to receive royal patronage even after it had lost its supermacy. Books in Arabic and Persian continued to be translated into Sanskrit and fresh books such as 'Rajawali', 'Zain Raj-Tarangini' and Rajawali Pataka' were written in Sanskrit. Sanskrit also continued to be used for state correspondence and, on some occasions, was used at equal footing with Persian. We still have stone engravings on the graves of the 15th and 16th centuries, in both Persian and Sanskrit. Stein has also referred to an agreement written both in Persian and Sanskrit in 1682 A. D. A will of Shaikh Makhdoom Kashmiri, the Saint, (died 1984 A.H.) written in Persian and Sanskrit is preserved in Srinagar Museum. But inspite of this, though Sanskrit struggled for its revival, yet by the end of 17th Century it succumbed to the supremacy of Persian language and its usage and study became confined to only some Brahman Pandits (Scholars) of Kashmir.

Another aspect of Iranian and Central Asian influence is about the Arts and Crafts of Kashmir. The Arts and Crafts originated during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abdin. It was he who first made the art of paper making and book binding current in Kashmir. As stated by Haidar Malik, the author of 'Tarikh-i-Kashmir'. the Sultan despatched two persons to Samarqand to learn the art of paper making and book-binding and on their return, the Sultan asked them that it should be taught to others as well. Thus this particular art became popular in Kashmir. The Sultan also made the manufacture of Silk possible and imported the weaving apparatus, textitle looms and decorative designs current in Iran, and Central Asia.

We know that Kashmiri Shawl has no equal in the World. We have no authentic evidence available regarding the origin of Shawl making in Kashmir. It is said that this art did exist in Hindu period but the author of 'Tarikh-i-Hasan' has said that it was first introduced by the Central-Asian artists. It has also been said that Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani introduced the industry in Kashmir. But we do not know how far these statements are correct. However, it is important to know that under the patronage of the Sultans of Kashmir shawlmaking and carpet-weaving received tremendous impetus through the instrumentality of Iranian and Central Asian weavers who introduced novel designs and patterns in the art. Kashmiri carpets like those of Kashmiri Shawls continue to be superb in their texture and design to the present day.

The Iranian and Central Asian influence in metal-work of Kashmir is distinct. Drinking pots, in particular, are a glaring evidence, although the handles are made of the pattern of Chinese dragon, but their flower-work and shape is entirely Iranian, and Central Asian.

Painting and Calligraphy also, like other arts, bear Iranian influence. Both these arts progressed fairly well under royal patronage but, unfortunately, no specimen of noteworthy paintings or manuscripts has survived. 'Tarikh-i-Hasan' and 'Waqiat-i-Kashmir' have mentioned the name of one Mulla Jameel as an outstanding calligraphist during Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin's reign. Many calligraphists from Iran and Central Asia migrated to Kashmir and received substantial gifts and favours at the royal court. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin got the copies of Zamakhshari's 'Kashshaf' transcribed by the Iranian calligraphers. The famous calligraphist of Chak period was Mohammad Husain, who joined the court of Akbar. Akbar was so much impressed by his beautiful hand, his decorative art, symmetry and proportion, that he bestowed upon him the title of "Zarreen Qalam" ("Golden-pen"). Another famous calligraphist was Ali Chaman Kashmiri, whom Akbar patronised. Some of Kashmiri calligraphists had earned a name during the reign of Jehangir and Shahjahan.

This is, then, a brief account of the influence of various aspects of Iranian and Central Asian culture on Kashmir, and in truth there hardly remains any walk of life on which impressions of this influence are not visible, be it the language of Kashmiris, their arts and crafts, customs and manners and food and dress. No wonder that Kashmir continues to be called 'Iran-e-Soghir' (Minor Iran). Prior to her passing into the hands of Mughal Emperors of India, Kashmir had undergone and accepted the influx of the Persian culture. With her annexation to the Empire of the Moghals towards the fall of 10th century A. D., Persian literature, prose, poetry and histology found vast avenues of development. Whenever Akbar set forth on a visit to the beautiful Valley of Kashmir, the court-poets formed an important part of royal entourage. The Mughal rulers of India were favourably disposed towards the development of Persian literature in India and their court attracted some versatile poets of Iran. Some of these well-known poets are Urfi Shirazi, Naziri Nishapuri. Abu Talib Kalim, Saib Isfahani, Qudsi, Meshedi and many others. The losses suffered on account of literary output at Delhi, were made good in Kashmir. For this reason they had always nursed a special consideration for Kashmir. This naturally led to the emergence of a galaxy of brilliant Kashmiri poets writing in Persian, the most outstanding of them being Sarfi, Mulla Mazhari. Goya, Joya, Sate, Mohammed Reza, Mushtaq Salim, Qubul and Towfiq, and Ghani. Obviously and as a result of hundreds of years of cultural heritage, Persian continues to be the literature of the elite in Kashmir down to this day.

CHAPTER 22

The Trika Philosophy of Kashmir

FROM KASHMIR SHAIVISM

BY CHATTERJI

A THE AGAMA—SHASTRA

B THE SPANDA—SHASTRA

C THE PRATYABHIJNA—SHASTRA

A The Agama-Shastra :

This is regarded as of superhuman authorship. It lays down both the doctrines (jnana) and the practices (kriya) of the system as revelations which are believed to have come down (agama) through the ages, being handed down from teacher to pupil.

Among the works (if they may be so called) belonging to this Shastra there is a number of Tantras, of which the chief ones are the following :

Malini Vijaya (or Malini Vijayottara)
Svachchhanda
Vijnana Bhairava

Uchchhushma Bhairava
Ananda Bhairava (lost)
Mrigendra
Matanga
Netra
Naishvasa
Svayambhuva

Rudra-yamala (from which the famous Para-Trimshika verses are said to be taken)

Most of these had existed long before the appearance (or re-appearance) of the Trika and taught mostly a dualistic doctrine; at any rate they seem to have been interpreted in a dualistic, even a pluralistic, sense.

It was to stop the spread of this dualistic teaching and to show that the highest form of the Shivagama taught only the pure Advaita Tattva-Idealistic Monism that there were revealed the Shiva Sutras, which therefore form, from the Trika point of view, the most important part of the Agama Shastra. Indeed, they are spoken of as the 'Shivopanishat-Sangraha' which is again interpreted as 'Shivarahasyagama-Shastra-Sangraha'.

B. The Spanda Shastra :

This lays down the main principles of the system in greater detail and in a more amplified form than the Shiva Sutras without, or hardly, entering into philosophical reasonings in their support.

Of the treatises belonging to this Shastra, the first and foremost are :

(i) The Spanda Sutras, generally called the Spanda Karikas

These Sutras (really verses, numbering 52) are based on the Shiva Sutras, on which they form a sort of running commentary; but a commentary which only enunciates the principles, no doubt in fuller detail, still without entering much into philosophical reasoning. The collection of the Spanda Sutras' is spoken of as a Sangraha Grantha i. e., a work which gathers together the meaning of the Shiva-Sutras.

The Spanda Sutras are attributed by Kshemaraja to Vasugupta himself but they were composed most likley by the letter's pupil, Kallata.

On these Sutras there is,

(ii) The Vritti by Kallata.

The Vritti, together with the Sutras or Karikas, is called the Spanda-Sarvasva.

These are practically all of what now remains of the original Spanda Shastra.

But on the Spanda Sutras there are the following commentaries :—

(i) The Vivriti by Ramakantha, a pupil of the great Utpala the son of Udayakara and author of the Pratyabhijna-Karikas.

(ii) The Pradipika by Utpala not the same as Utpala, the son of Udayakara, mentioned above. The author of the Pradipika is traditionally known as Utpala Vaishnava to distinguish him from his great namesake. Utpala Vaishanva lived later than Utpala author of the Pratyabhijna but earlier than Abhinava Gupta.

(iii) The Spanda Sandoha by Kshemaraja. It is a commentary on only the first Sutra or Karika, but explains the purport of the whole work.

(iv) Spanda Nirnaya, also by Kshemaraja. Of this work only the first section, called the first Nihshyanda, is available in Kashmir, at least. I have not, as yet, succeeded in securing a complete Ms. of it.

C. The Pratyabhijna Shastra.

This may be regarded as the manana—or vichara-Shastra, i. e. proper, philosophy of the Trika. It deals rationally with the doctrines tries to support them by reasoning and refutes the views of the opponents. Indeed, the method of the founder of this Shastra, the Siddha Somananda, most probably a pupil of Vasugupata, is said to have been the exhaustive treatment of the doctrines of his own system as well as of those of opponents. Somananda is also spoken of as the originator of reasoning, namely in support of the Trika.

The first work which laid the foundation of this branch was :

(i) the Shiva Drishti

by Somananda himself. As the name implies, Shiva Drishti, which is the same as Shiva Darshana, was par excellence the philosophy of Kashmir Shaivaism. Unfortunately, the work is not to be had now in its completeness—at least I have not succeeded yet in securing a complete Ms., of it, nor I have heard of its existence anywhere in Kashmir. So far, I have seen only the first-four Ahnikas of the work (the fourth in fragments). But it must have been of a considerable size and must have extended at least to seven Ahnikas, if not more.

Somananda composed a Vritti of his own on the Shiva Drishti. But this, with other works of his, are lost now and we know them only by name and from quotations from them.

The next and now the most important existing work of his Shastra is :—

(ii) the Ishvara Pratyabhijna

or simply the Pratyabhijna Sutras by Utpala, the famous pupil of Somananda. It is a work in verses which are called Sutras.

It is a shorter work than the Shiva Drishti which even in its existing parts contains more than 307 anushtubh verses, while the total number of verses, in the Pratyabhijna Sutras is only 190.

In his own Sutras or verses Utpala summarised the teaching of his master Somananda. Indeed, his Ishvara Pratyabhijna is spoken of as only "the reflection of the wisdom taught by Somananda.

Being a shorter and more compact work the Pratyabhijna would seem to have superseded, to a great extent at least, the Shiva Drishti of Somananda. Indeed, the Pratyabhijna assumed such an important position that the whole system of the Shaiva Philosophy of Kashmir would seem to have come to be known, outside Kashmir, as the Pratyabhijna Darshana, under which name Madhavacharya treats of the Trika in his 'Sarva Darshana Sangraha'.

However this may be, round the Sutras or Karikas of Utpala there grew up a mass of literature; and the Pratyabhijna Sutras, together with the various commentaries on them and with other works which drew their inspiration form the Sutras, now constitute, perhaps, the greater portion of the existing writings on Kashmir shaivaism.

We are told in the Shiva Sutra Vimarshini, that Vasugupta, while residing in his hermitage below the Mahadeva peak, had one night a dream in which Shiva, who was moved to compassion to see the world immersed in spiritual darkness, appeared and disclosed to the sage the existence of certain Sutras embodying the essence of the Shiva Shasana–which were to be found inscribed on a rock. Vasugupta was informed in the dream. The rock had been lying in a certain part of the valley, with the inscribed side turned downwards and hidden from the profane gaze. But if he went there in the morning, (he was also told in the dream), the rock would turn over of its own accord by his very touch and he should then learn the Sutras of which the meaning would be revealed to him and he should teach them to worthy pupils. A huge rock represented in the second illustration published in the Shiva Sutra-Vimarshini is still pointed out as the one upon which these Sutras were found inscribed, although no trace whatever of any inscription on it is now to be detected. The rock goes by the name of Shankarpal which may be merely a corrupt form of the Sanskrit Shankaropala ; and the Sutras found thereon are, according to Kshemaraja, the very ones which were expounded by him in his Vimarshini and which are now printed as a whole, for the first time as far as I know.

CHAPTER 23

What they Saw and Wrote ?

> "Kashmir is a very old country, and its people are very old fashioned. Those who have studied the history of Kashmir say that the people have not changed much since the times of ancient Hindu kings. This is quite possible, but I think that many of the hard things said about Kashmiris are due to the fact that the official interpreters of their character have been foreigners often grasping and corrupt, always unsympathetic"
>
> (*The Valley of Kashmir*)

With this observation of W. R. Lawrence, we venture to open this interesting study of Kashmir and Kashmiri people by European travellers, officers and missionaries who saw the Valley and the areas co-terminus with it. As for Bernier's account we shall take it up in a later issue. For the present it is proper to reproduce extracts from the books of some of the distinguished Westerners both official and non official. It is worth considering a point that not only did they fulfil their original objectives but that they also left rich legacies in literature. This is quite unlike most of our officers who are never dedicated to the study of their environs, and the life they and their fellow countrymen live.

As a matter of fact all the Europeans who happened to stay in and see Kashmir and who were required to work here, were, one and all impressed by the natural beauty of the land we belong to. Many of them wrote in praise of the natural setting of the Valley, its springs, highlands, chinars, fruits, bushes, lawns and Jungles. Some of them were very critical of the ways and means of the people. They noted their virtues and vices too. Even the regimes controlling Kashmir were not left alone but denounced in strong terms by a number of travellers and English representatives. Heading the list of such men is Robert Thorp, whose mother was a Kashmiri lady, a Muslim, Jani by name.

For purposes of expediency we shall try to avoid quoting denunciations and even some of the faulty opinions of the English officers and Western adventurers and missionaries. For the present we can but reproduce without much comment the views of C E. Tyndale Biscoe, Moorcraft, Frederick Drew and Wakefield.

1. Rev. Biscoe, at heart a Missionary, and in practice too wrote his "*Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*". He extolled Kashmiris in the following words :

> "Their (people of Kashmir) complexion is fair as compared with their Indian neighbours ; those living in towns are fairer than the country folk. Some of them might easily pass for Europeans. The Hindu woman and boys have generally refined features, quite of Greek type. Many have rosy cheeks and pink complexions, and a few have blue eyes and auburn hair. One especially notices their fair complexion when they are with Indians or Europeans i. e. those of mixed birth, now known as Anglo-Indians".

For the faults in the character of Kashmiris, Rev Biscoe, in the manner of W. R. Lawrence, holds the tools of oppression responsible. He speaks with somewhat sympathetic tone about this aspect of their life :

> "Kashmir has been conquered and reconquered by invaders, who have murdered, oppressed and enslaved their ancestors and so ground the life and heart out of

> them that their better selves have been crushed. It is quite possible that if we Britishers had to undergo what the Kashmiris have suffered in the past we might have lost our manhood"

Biscoe lived amidst the ordinary people and tried to understand their beliefs and mentioned these quite frankly But, some-times, he did it ironically. Describing a fire-accident, he wondered at the intensity of saying prayers and the degree of devotion shown by a *Mullah* in order to seek divine help in getting the fire stopped. The Christian missionary narrates :

> "I was present at a big fire in the city when a mosque was in danger. The mullah, an old man, with a long grey beard, climbed on to the roof of the mosque with his Kuran, from which he commenced to read aloud, and earnestly hoped, thereby, to save his mosque. But, it was of no avail, for he was obliged to take refuge on another roof, and then on to another, as the heat, smoke and fire drove him from one ventage point to another. It was a noble effort nevertheless and grand to see the old man's pluck and faith in the midst of disaster. The heat of the fire seemed to create a great wind, so that his long grey beard was blown about like a flag, and his earnest old face lit up by the flames and one could at times hear his voice above the roar of the flames rolling out in Arabic verse after verse from his sacred book."

Rev. Biscoe was convinced that education alone could change the people's attitudes here. He was tired of the superstitions of Kashmiris-both Hindus and Muslims. Describing the former's keeness to keep away the 'effects' of evil-eye, he says :

> "If you look at a house just completed by a Hindu you will notice an old and broken-earthenware pot slung from one of the projecting beams. This is considered to be most important, as it keeps off the evil-eye, for when the devil notices a nice newbuilt

> house he may take a fancy to it, but on closer inspection he sees the old broken pot attached to it, so realises that he has made a mistake in thinking it to be a new building, and hence will not covet it. This belief in the evil eye pervades all things, whether it be new-born babies or carpets. Mothers purposely keep the faces of their children unwashed to ward off the evil eye. When they show you a baby you must always make some disparaging remark. The mother would be terribly upset if you said the child was beautiful or fat...".

On those who vacillate in deciding upon things, and on their strange notions Biscoe comments :

> "Superstitious persons will never begin to do anything if some one sneezes. Rogues some times sneeze on purpose, in order to annoy others. They quietly put a straw into their noses and sneeze. Crows, owls and kites are ominous birds while bulbuls, swallows and hoopoes are considered fortunate".

Continues, the writer expressing himself on the same subject :

> "Some years ago a terrible beast was supposed to inhabit the river one summer. The schools were closed for the summer vacation, and when we returned to Srinagar we found that no one had bathed in the river for a month from fear of this beast, so I asked the boys if they would like to kill it. They answered in the affirmative; so I called upon them to meet me at the Amira Kadal bridge at three o'clock to swim right through the city, a distance of three miles to the seventh bridge, Safakadal, so that this terrible beast might burst itself with swallowing so many boys, and thus they would save their city.
>
> "At 3. P. M. punctually 130 boys leaped into the river. The bridge's banks and roofs of the houses were crowded with people to see what would happen"

> "Of course nothing did happen, and next day the city was washing itself once more, for the bogey was slain."

II. Moorcraft visited and stayed in Kashmir Valley during the first half decade of Sikh Rule. In his 2 volume account. *Travels in Hindustan*, he wrote on every aspect of life in Kashmir, be it social, economic, commercial or political. Observes he on the character and potentialities of the inhabitants :

> "The natives of Kashmir have been always considered as amongst the most lively and ingenious people of Asia, and deservedly so. With a liberal and wise government they might assume an equally high scale as moral and intellectual people. The complexion of the Kashmirians varies from dark to olive, and is some-times ruddy and transparent ; the eyes are large and full, the nose is well defined and commonly of an acquiline form. He (Kashmiri) has great ingenuity as mechanic and a decided genious for manufactures and commerce."

Of their food and menu, Moorcraft says :

> "The food of those who can afford it is partly of meat, mutton of goats or sheep, which sells at about three pense per pound. Beef is not procurable, as the sikh ruler punishes the death of a cow capitally. The chief food, of the people is vegetable; turnips, cabbages, radishes, the singhara or water nut and rice."

But what impressed the great traveller more was Kashmir's shawl industry and the patience aud dexterity of the artisans. He is at pains to explain this side of the Kashmir craft :—

> The manufacture for which Kashmir is celebrated throughout the world, is that of the light warm, and elegant article of dress which, from its native appellation, is known as Shawl. The wool that is employed in this manufacture is of two kinds the

> fleece of the domestic goat called Pashm Shawl (or shawl wool) and that of the wild goat, wild sheep' and other animals named Asali Tus. The wool of sheep is not regularly, but is some times clandestinely imported, being loaded with the same heavy duties as that of the goat."

Moorcraft does not ignore details and the delicacies of the shawl-manufacture. He points out :

> "The loom differs not in principle from that of Europe, but is of inferior workmanship. An Ustad has from three to three hundred in his establishment, and they are generally crowded together in long low apartments. When the work is fixed in the loom the nakash, or, pattern-drawer and the tavaliguru and Talimguru, or persons who determine the proportion of yarn of different colours to be employed, are again consulted. The first brings the drawing of the pattern in black and white. The Taraguru, having well considered it, points out the disposition of the colours, beginning at the foot of the pattern, and calling out the colour, the number of threads to which it is to extend, that by which it is to be followed and so on in succession, until the whole pattern has been described, from his dictation the Talim–guru writes down the particulars in a kind of character or short-hand and delivers a copy of the document to the weavers."

The mechanism of the system and the use of the needle (Tuji) seems to have appealed to him most. He describes it thus :

> "The workmen prepare the Tujis, or needles by arming each with coloured yarn of the weight of about four grains. These needles, without eyes, are made of light, smooth wood, and have both their sharp ends slightly charred, to prevent their becoming rough or jagged through working."

> "Under the superintendence of the Tarab-guru, the weavers knot the yarn of the Tuji to the warp as soon as the Ustad is satisfied that the work of one line or woof is completed, the comb is brought down upon it with a vigour and repetition apparently very disproportionate to the delicacy of the materials."

III Frederick Drew wrote his *Jammu and Kashmir* wherein, at places, he gives a good description of the nature, the built-up and the features of Kashmiris. He also expressed his views on Kashmiri language as well as on the ability of the people to use different tongues. He speaks eloquently of the Kashmiri race :

> "The Kashmiri people are doubtless physically the finest of all the races that inhabit the territories we are dealing with, and I have not much hesitation in saying that in size and in feature they are the finest race on the whole continent of India. Their physique, their character, and their language are so marked as to produce a nationality different from all around as distinct from their neighbours as their country is geographically separated.
>
> The face of Kashmir, as Sir George Campbell has observed with regard especially to one class of them, is of the pure High Aryan type, he was writing of the Kashmiri Brahmans. It is also true of the cultivating class, the peasantry, who have kept their breed unmixed. They have a wide straight up and high forehead and a fine-shaped head, a well cut square brow, and eyes of a not very dark brown. With middle-aged and older people the nose acquires a decided hook of handsome outline; the mouth is often prettily curved with the young people, but it is apt to get straight and thin lipped as they grow up. In figure they are, I should say of middle-height by our English standard and not apt to run very much above it; they are a robust race broadshouldered and large framed, and of great muscular power;

Describing the language and linguistic capability of the inhabitants of the State, he says :

> "The Kashmiris, on the other hand, are good linguists; nearly all the men and a good proportion of the women know either Panjabi or Hindostani, or more likely, speak a mixture of both. The Hindostani language, indeed will well carry one through Kashmir, though Panjabi is more spoken by the older men who learnt it when the Sikhs were masters; now Dogri has to some extent come in, and, from the yearly infux of Englishmen and their followers, Hindostani; but, as before said, a mixture of the dialects is more usual. The Kashmiri language is rather harsh in sound, but it seems, to one who listens to a conversation without understanding it, to be expressive, and able to be made emphatic; those who speak it seem never at a loss to express every shade of meaning wanted."

Drew seems to have enjoyed to the full the natural beauty of the Valley of Kashmir. This is apparent from the depths of his thought and feelings which he expressed thus :

> "Every corner of the *Vale*, every nook where the lower land runs up into the hills and every part of the slopes where the ground that belongs to the valley graduates into that of the mountains, will show some beauties for the traveller to delight in."

IV. Wakefield visited the Valley in the summer of 1875 and was at the time in the service of her Majesty's Government. He penned down what he saw and heard and brought out his book *Happy Valley (History of Kashmir and the Kashmiris)*. His description of Kashmir is so fascinating, and effective and so realistic and revitalising that one is forced to feel that Wordsworth has come to a second life as a prose-writer. He depicts the attractions of Kashmir in these words :

> "In the midst of this scene of un-utterable desolation there lies spread out a wide expanse of verdant plain,

> a smiling valley a veritable jewel in Nature's own setting of frightful precipices ever lasting snows, vast glaciers, which, while adding to its beauty by the contrast, serve also as its protection. Shielded from the cold and piercing blasts of the higher regions that surround it on the north it is equally protected by the girdling mountains on its other sides, whilst its elevation places it beyond the reach of the fiery heat of India's sunny plains; and thus it exhibits, in the midst of a wide waste of desolation, a scene of almost constant verdure and perpetual spring. It is little surprising, therefore, that this terrestrial paradise, as it is often called, should enjoy the celebrity to which it has attained in all civilized countries, and its name has become associated with a high degree of picturesque beauty, something distinctive, if not unique in character. For, as Vigne justly remarks, "Softness mantling over the sublime, snugness generally, elsewhere incompatible with extent, are the prevailing characteristics of the scenery of Kashmir, and verdure and the forest appear to have deserted the countries on the northward in order to embellish the slopes from its snowy mountains, give additional richness to its plains, and combine with its delightful climate to render it not unworthy of the rhyming epithets applied to it in the East of
>
> "Kashmir-be-nazir-without an equal:
> Kashmir-Junat-nazir-equal to paradise.

Wakefield, among other aspects of life in Kashmir does not forget to mention the art and artistry of the land and its original dwellers. He recognises their fame in the field of manufacture and freely observes :

> "Our attention is now claimed by the arts and manufactures of the country, good specimens of which are to be seen and purchased in the different shops in the big bazar already spoken of on the right bank of the river. In weaving, embroidering, and working in metals, the Kashmiris have a great reputation; but they

are also very expert in the manufacture of wooden articles, such as toys and turnery; ornamental carving, inlaid work in wood, ivory, mother of pearl, papier-machie, jewellery, leather, paper, and attar of roses. It is, however, for the manufacture of famous Kashmir shawls that they are best known, since these are of world-wide reputation. And although at the present time the decrees of fashion have almost banished them from Europe and the admirable imitations produced in France, and Paisley in Scotland exercise a great influence over the trade, yet a goodly number are still woven annually in the country of their birth, the demand for them in the East being maintained as necessary appendages to rank and state. It is a well-known fact, that the article of dress called a shawl is perhaps of higher antiquity than any other garment; but of its manufacture in these early days we possess but little information until we come to the time of Akbar, about the year 1556, when the celebrated Kashmir shawls were amongst the most important manufactures of the world, and were thought worthy of being minutely described in the *Ayin-i-Akbari*,or the Institutes of the Emperor, so frequently mentioned in the preceding pages. Thus Kashmir, if it cannot claim the honour of being the country of the brith of their manufacture, may undoubtedly claim that of being the country where the industry was first carefully fostered and encouraged, and whence it spread over the greater part of India, and to other more remote parts of the civilized world."

He continues :

"The Kashmiris, are very ingenious workers in metal, manufacturing good, weapons, such as guns and swords and other articles. But their jwellery specially demands attention, the gold and silver-smiths of Srinagar being very clever at their trade, producing admirable work, great quantities of which are now finding their way to England.

CHAPTER 24

The Damaras of Kashmir

DR. (MISS) KRISHNA MOHAN
M. A., Ph. D. (Lond)

The term *Damara* is of common occurence in the *Rajatarangini* and the people to whom it relates play a very significant part in the history of Kashmir, especially during the times of the first and the second Lohara dynasties—A.D. 1003-1171.

"The word *Damara*" states Stein, "in the sense in which it is used in the *Rajatarangini* and the later chronicles has not yet been traced outside Kashmir".[1]

The authors of the St. Petersburg Lexicon, with reference to a possible etymology, suggested that the word might have had originally a more general meaning, "riotous", "rebel,,[2]. "The true purport of the term", adds Stein, "was recognized only in a brief supplementary note of that work which produces a suggestion of Prof. H. Kern assigning to *Damara* the meaning *Bojar, i. e.* feudal landowner or baron".[3]

There is no denying the fact that the *Damaras* were really landowners, but we have doubts about the possible meaning "riotous" or "rebel", assigned to the word *Damara* in this particular case. Taking the word as etymologically connected with the root *Dam* "to sound as a drum", as suggested by the

St. Petersburg we can say that it might have originally been given to one of the indigenous tribes because of the boorishness and the riotous nature of these hilly people, and from that it may have been adopted to signify all such people in the land.

The word *Damara* is found also in Jayaratha's commentary on Abhinavagupta's *Tantraloka*[4] where it is mentioned as one of the sixty-four tantras (a class of works teaching mystical formulae)[5]. It is curious to note the same word being applied to a ritualistic text and to a class of people.

Varahamihira in his *Brhat Samhita* mentions *Damara* in the list of the countries of the North Eastern region along with :[6].

Meruka, *Nastarajyer*, *Pasupala*, *Kira*, *Kasmira*, *Abhisarada*, *Tangana*, *Kuluta*, *Saicindha Rastra*, *Brahmapura*, *Darva*, *Damara*, *Vanarajya*, *Kirata*, *Cina*, *Kanninda*, *Bhalla*, *Palola*, *Jatasura*, *Kanatha*, *Khasa*. *Ghosa*, *Kucika*, *Ekacarana*, *Anuvisva Svarnabhumi*, *Arnasuddkana*, *Nandavistha*, *Paurava*, *Ciranivasana*, *Trinetra*, *Punjadri and Gandharva.*

In this list we have names of people like *Pasupala* and *Trinetra*, which are epithets of the God *Siva*. *Damara*, as already stated above, is the name of a tantra in *Saivite* Tantric religion and *Damara* is also the name of one of the attendants of *Siva*.

In Kashmir we find many references to people named after their tribal epithets, such as *Lavanya*[7], *Bolahara*[8], *Tantrin*[9], and the like. Tracing these words to Sanskrit roots does not always help with the identification of the people to whom they refer. They may well be based on words in no way connected with Classical Sanskrit. Some of the names of Varahamihira's list occur in the *Rajatarangini*[10]. We come across *Darva-bhisar*-a clear reference to *Darva* and *Abhisara* as a joint name, and it has been identified by Stein with the lower hills between Jhelum and Chinab.

Stein refers to *Kira*, appearing in the ethnographic list of

Varahamihira's Brhatsamhita (XIV, 29), as the name of a race located in the North-East along with *Kashmiras, Abhisara* and *Darads.*[11] In the Chamba copper-plate grant of *Asata*, the *Kiras* are named between the Durgaras, (Dogras) and Trigartas (:Kangra).[12]

Excluding, of course, the purely legendary names, Stein recognises the *Abhisaras, Darads, Darvas, Khasas, Kiras* and even the distant *Kulutas* and *Kaunindas* or *Kaulindras* "as the names of the tribes which undoubtedly must be located in the immediate neighbourhood of Kashmir".[13] As we have such people inhabiting the North-Eastern division of India according to *Varahamihira's* classification, and as some of them have been identified by Stein, we can take *Damara* as one of them. Moreover, the *Brhat-Samhita* was written much earlier than the *Rajatarangini.* It is, however, curious that the *Damara* in this ethnographical list missed Stein's notice, though he mentions the *Kiras* and others, who appear in the same verse, and takes them even as tribes. Perhaps, taking the word etymologically and being quite convinced of its connection with "riot" or "strife", rather than of its being a tribal name, he did not notice it.

As already mentioned we have other examples of the use of tribal names in Kashmir[14] to designate special sections of the people. In the R*ajatarangini* we find the *Tantrins* referred to as a body of foot-soldiers; these probably derived their designation from their tribal name, and owed their close organisation to ethnic affinities, but their original appellation was assimilated to the Sanskrit word "tantra".

Kalhana, while describing King *Lalitaditya's* injunctions on state policy, specifically[15] mentions the hill people first, and then he speaks of not allowing the villagers to have more food than is required for one year's consumption; otherwise, they would become terrible *Damaras.* It is, perhaps, from this verse that Wilson concluded that the *Damaras* were a fierce intractable tribe inhabiting the mountains to the north of Kashmir.

Could it possibly be that the hill people referred to by *Lalitaditya* are the original *Damaras* whose specific characteristics might have given their name to the turbulent section of Kashmir society ?

We have references in the *Rajatarangini* wherein *Damara* and *Lavanya* are indiscriminately used for separate groups of people or for one and the same person.[16] *Kalhana* gives us no evidence to show what the term *Lavanya* originally meant or how it came to be applied. As shown by Stein it is a tribal name still surviving to this day in the *Kram* name *Lun,* borne by a considerable section of the agricultural population of Kashmir[17]. "From the way in which", he adds, "*Kalhana* employs the name in the passages referred to, and from various others in which *Lavanyas* are mentioned, it must be inferred that the mass of *Damaras* was recruited from that tribal section. If this was the case the indifferent use of the ethnic and class designations is easily accounted for."[18]

Basing his view on the geographical distribution of the *Damaras* in the whole of the valley of Kashmir and the mention of the epithet *Lavanya* for the first time in the reign of *Harsa,* B. P. Mazumdar suggests that the *Damara* did not belong to a particular tribe.[19] He adds: "Some *Damaras* have been called Lavanyas and from this Wilson concluded that all of them belonged to a tribe inhabiting the north of Kashmir.[20]" It was from the passage referring to king *Lalitaditya's* injunctions to his ministers that Wilson concluded the above and not from the fact of *Damaras* being termed as *Lavanyas*[21]. As it is seen from the *Rajatarangini* and as B. P. Mazumdar has himself stated, the term *Lavanya* occurs for the first time in the reign of king *Harsa*[22]; while king *Lalitaditya*'s time is much earlier. From Stein's note[23] that *Kalhana,* in making king *Lalitaditya* set forth the principles of Kashmir policy, is thinking in reality of his own times, one may be led to believe with him that the reference to the *Damara* at this early date is due to Kalhana's imagination working into earlier times. We have, however, clear evidence in the cases of the minister *Sura* and king Cakravarman that much earlier than *Kalhana's* own time *Damaras* had become quite powerful and were a terror to the rest of the population. As shown by Stein himself, we find characteristic indication of their growing influence during the period of comparative consolidation which followed Yasaskara's[24] accession (939-48) and queen Didda's advent to power[25]. Both under Unmattavanti (937-39) and Didda (980/1-1003) special mention is made of the success of the royal commanders-in-chief in coercive measures against the *Damaras*.[26]

As regards their original home Mazumdar suggests that "The Lavanyas had come from the Lavana Parvata, which is contiguous (sic) to Kashmir. *Prthvihara* and his son *Kosthesvara* have been referred to as *Lavanyas* and *Damaras* *Trillaka* as *Damara* and a *Lavanya*, was a relative of *Kosthesvara*. It is likely that they or their ancestors had come originally from Lavana Parvata and settled in Kashmir."[27] Mazumdar seems to have misunderstood the word *Kram*' (originally meaning family appellation) when he wrongly quotes Stein, saying "Stein thinks that the Lavanyas were a tribal people inhabiting the Kram named Lun." As already quoted, what Stein actually says is "Lavanaya is a tribal name still surviving in this day in the *Kram* name *Lun*, borne by a considerable section of the agricultural population of Kashmir[28].

It is from this misunderstanding of the words *Kram* and *Lun* that Mazumdar has suggested their original habitat as Lavana Parvata. We do not understand what specific area he means to suggest; whether he is thinking of the salt Range of the Punjab hills or any other place. We have, however, Lavanotsa said to be a town founded by prince Baka of Mihirakula's race[29]

Stein could not find the position of Lavanotsa, though the place is several times mentioned by Kalhana. From a certain passage[30], Stein understands that *Srinagra* could by reached by a single forced march from Lavanotsa and that Padmapura (modern Pampur), lay on the route. He cites other references which suggest that Lavanotsa[31] was situated near one of the high roads leading to *Srinagra*[32] from aboard. This area is nowhere near the Punjab Salt Range.

In Wilson's Glossary of Indian terms, the word "Lavana" is stated to mean 'Reaping' and from that in Hindi the term *Lavani* or *Launi* as wages in kind to reapers at harvest time, also 'reaping', 'cultivating'. Monier Williams takes '*Lavana*' from the root *Lu*, to cut or reap as meaning one who reaps and *Lavanya* as the name of a particular tribe in the *Rajatarangini*. The name of *Lavanya* may signify the original reaping or agricultural profession of the *Lavanyas* or *Damaras*.

In Kashmir even at present we find that the Pandits are broken up into numerous gotras, and each gotra has many *Krams*, or tribal sub-divisions. The *Kram* name is often the relic of a nickname applied to the ancestor of the sub-division[33]. `As suggested by Stein "the Lavanyas must have formed an important tribal section of the rural population of Kashmir and their name, like that of the Tantrins, survives in a modern *Kram* name of frequent occurence viz. Lun[34]." He further adds that though the passages referring to them do not tell us anything of their origin, they show that many of them must have held a position of influence as landowners or tribal headmen[35]. Their tribal name thus seems to have originated from their being landowners. Luns are found throughout the valley and according to villagers' statement recorded by Lawrence they are said to have come from Cilas[36]. Stein, however, could not trace any such tradition and suggested that the mass of the Damaras was recruited from the *Lavanya* tribal section and, therefore, 'the indifferent use of the ethnic and class designations became common[37].

We have already noted that the name *Lavanya* came to be used for the first time during the reign of king Harsa and these people figure prominently in the reigns of succeeding kings. If the mass of *Damaras* had been recruited from this tribal section, it would not have been mentioned so late. On the other hand, we believe that the *Lavanya* must have formed a tribal sub-section, and being an influential section of the agricultural population must have been classed with the *Damara* tribe, and hence the indiscriminate use of the epithets *Lavanyas* and *Damaras* for the same people. Moreover, if we believe with Stein that *Lavanya* was a tribal name, we are compelled to believe even more strongly that *Damara* started as a tribal rather than as a class name. For, if the name *Lavanya*, originally tribal, could be applied indiscriminately to the *Damaras*, *Damara* might equally well be taken originally as a tribal name later assigned to all those who acquired a certain position by means of agricultural revenue and trade.

Thus from the above references to tribal names we can safely assume that the word *Damara* started as the name of a people and from the special characteristics of this people it was later applied to all those people who attained a certain position in society. In other words, beginning as a tribal name it became later used as a class name, as is shown by the fact that *Lavanyas* are sometimes termed *Damaras*. Moreover, in Kashmir to day we have *Lons* (*Lavanyas*) *and Dars* (*Damaras*) as two separate castes[38].

The whole of the history of medieval Kashmir is full of the struggle of the monarchy against this section of society, which not only endangered the very existence of the ruling dynasty, but also became a terror to the rest of the population. The *Damaras* appear to have been rather like the *Bataka*[39] or heads of the iddigene class of Buganda, who exercised their authority by immemorial right. At first they do not appear to have been very strong, but later, under weak rulers, we find them very powerful and they emerge into a position of great importance by the time of the Lohara dynasties. The whole of the strife during the times of the Lohara dynasties may be interpreted as an attempt on the part of the kings to superimpose a system of political authority on tribal custom and of the *Damaras* trying to assert their authority and attain offices of state, especially when they had made themselves economically secure.

A question, here, of great importance is how far the *Damara* was a "*bojar*"-feudal landowner or baron[40]. The service of both the *Samantas* and the *Damaras* was based on land tenure. The *Samantas* and the *Damaras* or *Lavanyas*, though parts of the general feudal order, are mentioned as two separate entities in the *Rajatarangini*[41]. Kalhana generally mentions the *Samantas* favourably[42]. while as regards the *Damaras*, he is full of scorn and hatred[43]. In view of the anarchic conditions when the *Damaras* were constantly encouraging claimants to the throne or rising in revolt themselves, it was natural for Kalhana to have cherished bitter feelings against these local lords. The struggle does not appear to have been waged between the monarchy and the feudal organisation as a whole, but between the kings and the *Damaras*; for the *Samantas* are regularly found to be fighting on the side of kings against the *Damaras*. Kalhana, surprisingly, gives no instance of a rebel *Samanta*.

In the earlier books of the *Rajatarangini* the *Damaras* are only once mentioned as *Samantas*,[44] which shows that occasionally a *Damara* loyal to the king might be incorporated into the regular feudal order established under his leadership. On the other hand, we have many references[45] where *Samantas* and *Damaras* are mentioned as separate classes. In a certain verse Kalhana specifically uses the word *'Damarakula'*, "*Damara* tribe", to differentiate one part of the army from the regular Kashmirian soldiers from various feudatory families[46]. If the *Damaras* had formed a part of the regular feudal organisation there would have been no necessity of mentioning them separately. Moreover they would have been liable to all the obligations and eligible for all the privileges of the *Samantas*.

In the above quoted reference Kalhana even seems to distinguish between *Damaras* and *Kashmirians*, as though he scornfully rejects their rights to be looked up on as authentic members of the Community[47]. Could it be due to their descent from a tribal section of Kashmir society ?

As regards the conditions under which their landed property, the basis of their influence was acquired and held, Stein suggested that "a kind of service-tenure, the grant of land in return for military or other services, may have been the original foundation of the system[43]" He made this suggestion on comparing the conditions prevailing in other parts of India and in the absence of any exact data, he took it as a mere conjecture.

In an earlier instance king Cakravarman (935), after losing his throne, came to the house of the *Damara Samgrama* and asked for his help to get it back[49]. The *Damara* made him promise to look upon all of his class at all times in kindness. Thereafter they entered into a solemn pact by placing their feet on a sheep-skin sprinkled with blood, and mutually took an oath by sacred libation, sword in hand[50]. It was only after this agreement had been made that king Cakravarman was able to collect a numberless host of *Damaras* to help him. From this particular case it appears that if there had been any definite system of land-tenure based on relations of mutual protection and military service between the king and the *Damara*. there would not have been any necessity of the two parties entering into such an agreement at this time. Nor is the king anywhere described as reminding the *Damaras* of their sworn duty towards him. After having regained the throne with their help we find him again forgetting his promise and persecuting them[51]. The fact that king Cakravarman was no longer the ruling severeign at the time strengthens our point that *Samgrama* was free to enter into agreement with anyone, whether he was on the throne or not, for if this were not so, his allegiance would have been transferred to the new king, the moment Cakravarman was dethroned.

We do not find even a single reference in the whole of the chronicle, which could throw light on the relations between the *Damaras* and their numerous troops. But *Samgrama's* condition to the king Cakravarman, "if you promise to look upon us all in kindness, I march before you with troops on the morrow", shows that some sort of service-tenure must have existed between the *Damaras* and their followers, who would march at their lord's command. The *Damara* troops apparently did not have any direct relations with the king, and it was only after the agreement that they followed their chief to help him.

There is no mention of any quarrel between the *Damaras* leaders and their followers or any rising of the latter. Whether they could not raise their heads for fear of oppression of the leaders or they were kindly treated by them, we cannot say with precision. *Kalhana's* silence in this respect suggests that the relations between the powerful *Damaras* and their followers, who may have been the actual tillers of the soil, must have been quite good. In one[52], reference it is stated that king *Salhana* (1111-12) persuaded Gargacandra, the all-powerful *Lavanya* minister of his time to give his daughter to him in marriage, but Gargacandra's followers did not wish that he should ally himself with a king who was like a more ghost.

In making a comparison of the features of the *Rajput* society with those of the Middle Ages in Europe, as drawn by Hallow, Tod wrote, "The leading features of Government amongst the semi-barbarous hordes or civilised independent tribes must have a considerable resemblance to each other. In the same stages of society, the wants of men must everywhere be similar, and will produce analogies which are observed to regulate Tartar hordes or German tribles, Caledonian clans, the Rajput Kula (race) or Jharaja Bhayyad (brotherhood)[53]" To this we may add the *Damara* kula.

This system of *Samantas* and *Damaras* compares with the two classes of *Rajput* landlords in mewar. One is the Girasia *Thakkur* or lord, the other the *Bhumia*. The *Girasia* chieftain is he who holds '*Giras*' by grant (*Patta*) of the Prince, for which he performs service with specified quotas at home and abroad, renewable at every lapse when all the ceremonies of resumption, the fine of relief and the investiture take place[54]. The *Bhumia* does not renew his grant, but holds it on prescriptive possession. He succeeds without any fine, but pays a small annual quit-rent, and can be called upon for local service in the district which he inhabits for a certain period of time. As for the *Samantas* or feudal lords of the *Rajatarangini*, we believe that they must have held lands of the king but regarding the stipulation of specified quotas at home and abroad, renewals on lapse involving the ceremonies of resumption, the fine of relief, and the investiture we have no evidence whatsoever in the *Rajatarangini* or any of the other sources concerned with the period.

That the *Damaras* of the *Rajatarangini* may be compared with the *Bhumia* of Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan* is evident from the story of a *Damara* Lakkanacandra[55], who held the castle of *Dugdhaghata* (modern Dudakhut pass) which guarded the old route to the Darada country. He had been executed by order of king Ananta (1028-63). Subsequently his widow had offered the hill foot to king kalasa (1063-89) with a view to better assuring the safety of the neighbouring tract from the inroads of the Daradas, King Kalasa refused the offer. The stronghold then fell into the power of the Darada king from whom *Harsa* (1089–1101) subsequently vainly endeavoured to recover it with the assistance of the neighbouring *Damaras*[56]. From this stein has drawn the conclusion that "strong-holds as well as land had practically become hereditory possessions in the families of these feudal lords, whenever the central authority in the land was unable or unwilling to assert the right of resumption[57]. But why did King Kalasa refuse the offer ? If he did so on account of his weakness and inability to hold the fort, why did not King Ananta take it when he had sufficient strength to accomplish the execution of the *Damara* who held it ? If he had held the fort of the king by any form of feudal tenure it would have ultimately lapsed to the king after the execution of the *Damara* and, again, if the king had any feudal right over it, Kalasa would have been obliged to accept the offer of the *Damara's* wife as a matter of right and duty rather than of favour. That the offer came from the *Damara's* wife after the reign of King Ananta[58], shows that she succeeded to her husband's possession as a matter of right and if any royal sanction was needed, she might have taken it. So we cannot agree with Stein's conclusion that the *Damara's* holdings were becoming hereditary by the weakening of the central authority; it would rather seem that they were hereditary by long standing tradition at all times.

In the earlier period we do not find the *Damaras* to have formed a part of the regular royal army. Queen *Didda's* commander-in-Chief is seen destroying the hosts of the *Damaras*[59]. We do not find them in the army sent under Tunga to help *Sahi* Trilocanapala against *Mohmud* of *Ghazni.* Only in turbulent times of civil strife do we find them taking sides with one or the other faction, usually against the ruling king.

We have not been able to ascertain to which caste these *Damaras* belonged. This much is sure that they were not *Brahmanas*. We have reference to *Brahmanas*' fasts owing to the oppression of *Damaras*[61]. Perhaps being the indigenous class they could not be incorporated within the framework of the haughty nobility. In the second *Rajatarangini* they are mentioned as Dombas. Lawrence also held that the *Damaras* were descendants of *Sudras*[61]. Whether this epithet was used merely out of scorn or not, this much can be said that they belonged to an inferior class. In a certain passage Kalhana praises the wife of the *Damara Kosthaka* who became a *Sati* when her husband was mortally wounded and he attributes this exceptional conduct to the lady's noble descent from a family of *Rajputs*[62]. As *Sati* was a very common practice at that time and was much esteemed among *Brahmanas* and *Ksatriyas* especially, it appears that *Damara* women, not belonging to the higher strata of society in matters of caste, did not immolate themselves. Moreover, the blood-sprinkling rite, as we have seen above in the case of King Cakravarman and the *Damaras* taking pledge together[63], was peculiar to the *Damaras* and Khasas, and was not followed by the *Brahmanas*. Such customs are found also among the Khonds in other parts of India[64].

FOOT-NOTES

(1) *Rajatarangini* tr. Stein Vol. II p. 304.

(2) *Petersburg Wortherbuch.* Vol. III. p. 185. Rajat. Vol. II. P.

(3) Stein; Rajat. Vol. II. p. 304. of P.W. VII. 1747 of Culavainsa lxxiv. 22-43. Damarikatta is used for acts of violence.

(4) Jayaratha's commentary on the *Tantraloka* I, 42-43. Jayaratha provides the list of sixty-four monistic Tantras on the authority of the Srikanthi, a Saiva work. (Quoted by Pandey, Abhinavagupta, p. 80).

(5) *Monier Williams;* p. 436, Col. I

(6) *Brhat Samhita;* Ch. XIV. Verses 29-30.

(7) *Lavanya* : a tribal group corresponding to *Lun* (now **Lon**) *Kram*. See Stein tr. VIII. 2767 note. *Rajat*, VII. 1171, 1229, 1230, 1233, 1237 1238 VIII, 747, 776, 910, 956, 1010, 1032, 1268, 2538, 3447, Also see Stein *Rajat*. tr. Vol. II. p 523.

(8) *Rajat*. VIII. 2695, 2768.

(9) *Rajat*. V. 248-50, 255; 260, 265-66 274-75, 287, 289, 293-95, 302, 328,331, 338-40, 421, 431, VI. 132., VII 1531, VIII. 292, 303, 375, 510. 597 928.

(10) *Rajat*. VIII. 1531, Stein *Rajat*. tr. Vol. I. Book. I 180, note.

(11) Stein, *Rajat*. tr. VIII. 2767, note.

(12) *Ind. Ant*. XVII. p. 9

(13) Stein, *Rajat* tr. Vol. II, p. 365, note.

(14) Supra. p. 3.

(15) *Rajat*. IV, 347-48.

(16) *Rajat*. VIII, 48; 747, 780, 1032 & 1033, 1124 & 1127, 1992 & 1993, 2009 & 2012, 2337 & 2338.

(17) Stein; *Rajat* tr. Vol. II p. 306.

(18) *Ibid*.

(19) B. P. Mazumdar; Indian History Congress

(20) Mazumdar quotes Wilson's Essay on the Hind History of Kashmir *As. Res*. Vol. XV. pp. 51-70.

(21) Stein; *Rajat*. Vol II. p. 304.

(22) *Rajat*. VII. 1171.

(23) Stein; *Rajat*. IV 348. note

(24) *Rajat*. V. 48, 405, ff.

(25) Stein; *Rajat*. Vol. II. p. 305.

(26) Stein; *Rajat*. Vol. II. p. 305. see *Rajat*. V. 447, VI. 353.

(27) B.P. Mazumdar; *Indian History Congress* 1946. p. 195.

(28) See Supra. p. 5.

(29) Stein; *Rajat*. tr. I 39 note:

(30) Stein; *Rajat*. tr. VII. 762 ff.

(31) Wilson; *Glossary of Judicial & Revenue Terms*. p. 310.

(32) M. Williams; p, 898· Obviously follows Stein.

(33) Lawrence; *Valley*· 304.

(34) Stein; *Rajat*. tr. VII. 1171. note.

(35) *Ibid*

(36) Lawrence; *Valley* p. 306.

(37) Supra. p. 7

(38) Fauq : Tarikh-i-Aqwam-i-Kashmir; pp. 280 ff.

(39) Meek: *Land, Law & Custom in the Colonies, p. 132.*

(40) Hutchinson & Vogel: *History of the Punjab Hill States*; Vol. 1. p. 17.

(41) *Rajat*, cf. VIII. 909-910, 1072-1078.

(42) *Rajat*, V. 405, 406.

(43) *Rajat*, VIII. 7.

(44) *Rajat*, V. 395.

(45) *Rajat*, V 446-447, V. 451-454; VIII 1078.

(46) *Rajat*, VIII. 1078.

(47) *Rajat*, VIII. 887, 1078.

Kalhana mentions a coalition of Kashmirian, Khasa and Mleccha forces sent by Bhiksacara against king Sussala at Lohara.

The distinction is made in the same way as Kalhana does in the above quoted verse between Damaras and Kashmirians.

(48) Stein: *Rajat*, tr. Vol. II. p. 307.

(49) *Rajat*, V. 306,

(50) *Ibid*; 326.

(51) *Ibid*; 405.

(52) *Rajat*; VIII. 441.

(53) Tod: Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan; Vol. 1. p 154.

Knowing that Bhumia terures "appeared in the parts of Mewar settled since reonolest antiquity where they were defended from oppression by the rocks and wilds in which they obtained a fosting; as in kumbhalmer, the wild of chappan or plains of Mandalgarh, long under the kings, where their agricultural pursuits maintained them". We are reminded of king Lalitaditya's in junction to his ministers regarding treatment towards people in the hills. Tod Annals Vol. 1 pp 166, 196.

(54) Ibdi.

(55) *Rajat*, VII. 1171-74.

(56) *Rajat*, VII, 1177-86.

(57) *Rajat*, Stein; tr. Vol. II, p 306.

(58) *Rajat*, VI. 354.

(59) *Rajat*, VII. 46-47.

(60) *Rajat*, VII 1229, VIII 658.
(61) Lawrence: *Valley of Kashmir*; p. 306.
(62) *Rajat*, VIII. 2334-38.
(63) Supra, P. 14.
(64) Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (Hastings) ; Vol. IX p. 430.

CHAPTER 25

History of Kishtwar—a replica of Kashmir

DR. SHEIKH MOHD. IQBAL

It is certain that the dominions of Muhammad Sojan Singh of Kishtwar extended from the area of Nagsen to Dengbuttal in length and from Chaugan to Pargana Bonju in breadth. His areas of political control were wider than any other ruler beyond his southern and western borders.

(I)

The District of Doda, called the rajdom of Kishtwar in its days of independence and subsequent autonomy, has had an active historical association with the rest of Kashmir. This association lasted well over six hundred years. In this short description of the old and continuous partnership between the people of the District (Kishtwar) and their parent community in the greater Valley, reference to the advent of Islam into Kashmir and its influence on the original inhabitants is not only desirable but also inevitable. However, the fertile valleys on both sides of the middle of the Chinab, can claim age-old links with the main Valley. Thus does Sir Walter R. Lawrence substantiate the said claim in his famous work "*Valley of Kashmir*" :

> South of the Valley of Kashmir amidst the great mountains, the ethnologist would find the pleasant pastoral Gaddis, and might, if native historians are to be believed, discover in the customs of the old-fashioned Hindus of Kishtwar the

ancient manners and usages of the Kashmiris as they were before the dwellers of the valley were converted to Islam.

In the Kishtwar town and the areas closer to it, conversions to Islam began not less than seven hundred years before. It is quite probable that Muslim influence into the territory, south of Kashmir proper, commenced on the consolidation of Muslim power in the Punjab. The walls of separation between the greater Valley and the outer world could not be demolished even though it was thought to be inaccessible. Many were ignorant of its fine interior and natural beauty. Islam was instrumental in the removal of the impediments to a fruitful entry into central Kashmir. As the miraculous presence of Sayyid Ali Hamadani and the forceful preachings of his illustrious son, Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani won millions of people as converts to Islam, favourable conditions in the outskirts of the Valley were created by the socio-religious revolution that had set in there. Nevertheless, Kishtwar state was meant for the missionary zeal of Sayyid Shah Farid-ud-Din, the renowned saint of Baghdad. It will be agreed that as in the case of the sub-continent, the Islamic Faith entered the region of Kishtwar as a spiritual and moral force. As will be read elsewhere, spiritual connections between that region and Kashmir existed prior to the arrival of Sayyid Shah Farid.

It is perhaps within the knowledge of all the students of our history that integration as such was brought to the sub-continent of India by Muslims in two ways: political or territorial and spiritual. While some of the well-known Muslim rulers, including both the Sultans and the Mughal emperors, gave the Indians a sense of political cohesion, the religion of Islam unified them spiritully through the sufis, saints and the pious men The influence of their faith on the masses was simpler, speedier and healthier. The ways and ideas of Islam helped transform the plain minded subjects of the Sultans and the emperors into a remarkable society of brothers. This kind of development, reconstructional as it was in nature, went a long way in achieving an actual and effective political union of a greater part of south Asia. The message of love, amity and unity reached everywhere, transcending the artificial and insurmountable barriers between man and man, between region and region in the sub-continent.

As will be seen, Kishtwar at first accepted the spiritual supremacy of Islam when some of its influential and esteemed men were admitted into its attractive fold. Then it submitted to the political hegemony of Muslims through the independent or dependent governments of Kashmir. The strength of its Rajas gave way before the middle of the sixteenth century. After that it was politically either a part of Kashmir or its tributary or a vassal of the Mughal Empire of which Kashmir was a province. The bonds of relationship and unity between the greater Valley and Kishtwar region have been indissoluble. These were further strengthened by the ascendancy of the Kashmiri stock and its tradition, for, the superior culture of Kashmiris was welcomed by the original dwellers. Also, during the past centuries, more and more Kashmiri families immigrated into the areas of Kishtwar, Ramban, Doda and Bhadrwah.

(II)

The real political merger of the State of Kishtwar with the rest of Kashmir took place somewhere in the period when Emperor Sher Shah was reintegrating India. It is noteworthy that a few ambitious Kashmiri fugitives, namely Kaji Chak and Regi Chak prevailed upon Mirza Haider at Lahore to invade Kashmir. The Mirza did it and occupied the Valley in about 1540 (948 A.H.). Thinking that the conquest of Kashmir was incomplete without taking Kishtwar, he sent an expedition there but it did not succeed in achieving the purpose. The narrowness of the pass leading to the heart of the state and the timely device adopted by a wizzardess, caused the defeat of the Mughals, some of whom were killed and burried at what is known as the Mughal Mazar.

Mirza Haider could not keep his hold over the Valley of Kashmir. Hence the next attempt at Kishtwar was made by Sultan Ali Shah Chak in 1572 (981 A. H.). The fact that the Chaks had been able to liberate Kashmir from the Mughals must have impressed the then Raja of Kishtwar, Bahadur

Singh, so that he accepted to become a tributary of the Chak Sultanate. He gave his sister, Shankar Dai's hand to the Sultan's grandson, Yaqub, and his own daughter to the Sultan himself. Thus were the political relations cemented by matrimonial alliances in the manner of the Rajputs in India. The political changes in the greater Valley (of Kashmir) and in Kishtwar, did not have any adverse effects on the private relations of Kashmir and Kishtwaris.

The internal anarchy in Kashmir certainly resulted in the establishment of Mughal paramountacy over its territories. It was Akbar who shattered the power of the Chaks, and, in 1585, annexed their dominions to their vast and mighty empire. The turn of Kishtwar came next for purely political reasons. The Chaks used that state as a base for their military activities. Emperor Akbar deputed an army to punish the turbulent elements and their supporters. Thereby he wanted to capture the very source of their strength. The Raja, probably, Bhadur Singh, son of Ganbir Singh (Ac. 997 A.H.) submitted at once and promised that he would not encourage rebels in his areas. The Chak efforts to regain Kashmir did not stop and another army was despatched under one Muhammad Quli who reduced them in 1604 The next Raja, Pratap Singh (called Bhoop Singh by Najm-ud-Din) seems to have made common cause with the expelled Chaks and Emperor Jahangir was obliged to order action against the 'trouble-mongers'. The Emperor must have been disappointed on hearing about the retreat of a well-equipped force led by Mirza Haider and Khan-e-Azam. The Mughals incurred a terrible defeat. And in the skirmish with the Kishtwaris and the Chaks, a distinguished Officer, Muhammad Khan, or the Imperial army was killed by the natives.

Subsequently, the widow of Muhammad Khan vowed to avenge the wrong done to her by the Kishtwaris. Her appeal was granted by Jahangir and she—the Mughlani-appeared on the borders of Kishtwar with a large number of troops, crossing the Chinab by a rope-bridge. The Raja (Pratap Singh) escaped from the town. Though much of devastation was allowed by the victors, works or reconstruction were soon ordered in the true Mughal manner. The political supremacy that the Mughals had gained was shortlived, for, when they returned to Kashmir, Pratap Singh recaptured on his return the whole of Kishtwar territory occupied by the Imperial army. Raja Pratap was meanwhile succeeded by his son Gor Singh in 1618.

The contemporary governor of Kashmir at the time was Dilawar Khan. The emperor threatened him with punishment did he fail to annex the areas of Kishtwar for its Rajas had proved stiff-necked and the Chak activities had not ceased. Dilawar laid out a grand plan of conquest and the Mughal army made a concerted attack on Kishtwar from three sides. The Chinab was crossed at a particular place with the help of local landowner—Raja Gor Singh was obliged to surrender before the imperial arms. He was required to pay six annas in a rupee as tribute besides accepting to send his son Bhagwan Singh as a hostage to the Mughal Court.

Thus did Kishtwar state become a part of the Empire, but its Raja was allowed some amount of autonomy. At the same time a *Qazi* (or Supervisor-in-Chief) was deputed to the Gaddi of Kishtwar. We come across the names of such representatives as Abul Qasim and Hafizullah who helped the local rulers in handling their affairs efficiently. Also, the Rajas were represented at the Imperial capital either by a prince of their own family or by a trusted Muslim such as Ghiyas-ud-Din and Mahabat Khan. Similarly, as the Rajas owed allegiance to the Emperor, it became the responsibility of the Imperial Government to safeguard the autonomous status, and the rights and interests of Kishtwar and its people. This, it did many a time as in the day of Jagat Singh and Kirat Singh. It always upheld the privileges and claims of the rightful successors to the Gaddi. This was very necessary, for, had they acted otherwise, it would have endangered the interests of the Empire both in Kashmir and Kishtwar. In other words, the Mughals considered the latter as an extension of the Valley of Kashmir.

(III)

With the conversion of the Rajas of Kishtwar, the relations between the Mughals and the Kishtwaris were smoothened, and, the links between the latter and the people of Kashmir strengthened. The rulers of Kishtwar seem to have come under the influence of Islam during the period the Mughal Power had reached its height. A revolution in this respect set in on the arrival of Shah Farid Qadri into Kishtwar. Descending from the line of Sayyid Abdul Qadir Jilani, the reputed Shah is said to have come to that place under divine guidance. He set up his quarters in the town and through his piety, performance and preaching won innumerable converts. But the stage for actual conversion was set only after the then Raja, Jai Singh, accepted the new Dispensation. Curiously, just before his decision to join Islam, he had started tyrannising Muslim residents, settlers and travellers who were then flocking into his territory from outside, and, in particular, from Kashmir. On hearing reports of oppression, the Imperial Court called for his explanation. This was followed by a change in attitude on the part of the Raja. After his admission into the fold of Islam, Jai Singh was renamed as Bukhtyar Khan.

Bukhtyar Khan was succeeded by his son Kirat or Karit Singh (1664-1723) with his uncle Dindar Khan (formerly Ram Singh) as his wazir under the orders of Emperor Aurangzeb. When the Emperor visited Kashmir, Dindar Khan called on him and complained of Kirat's treatment to him. Alamgir issued a command that the Raja should abdicate. Kirat thought it to be advisable to accept Islam and save his interests and autonomy. He was rechristened as Sadatyar Khan. A fresh agreement was reached between the Raja and the Mughal representative (Abul Qasim). The agreement was confirmed by the Emperor in Shawal, 1075 A.H. The Raja undertook to protect the rights and liberty of the Muslim inhabitants of the areas in his charge.

According to Molvi Hashmatullah, the agreement referred to above produced serious repercussions among the non-Muslims in Kishtwar. They revolted against Kirat Singh who crossed into Kashmir Valley either for his own safety or to secure reinforcement against the insurgents. It was on his return to Kishtwar, it is believed, that he became a Muslim. This version of the story seems credible as the Raja must have, for his own reasons, regarded Islam to be a strong shield against the rebels and a real source of protection for future. Long after his conversion, Sadatyar Khan favourably responded to the proposal of the Imperial court, that Bhoop Dai, his sister, be married to prince Muhammad Shah. Before this, Emperor Alamgir himself had got the hand of a princess of Kishtwar. Bhoop Dai, was granted eight mozas as Jagir from the areas of Kashmir including Pahalgam.

The whole period between the accession of Bukhtyar Khan and the end of Muluk Singh's rule (1771), was generally one of prosperity and peace in Kishtwar. The Rajas, Bukhtyar, Sadat and Saeedatmand Khan, were men of devotion and they strove to achieve their people's contentment. They also performed some works of public utility. However, trouble arose when Saeedatmand Khan (Mihar Singh) became ruler in 1771 and when his brothers, Muhammad (Sojan Singh) and Dalil Singh, apparently against their brother, sought intervention from outside. This development afforded a chance to Baladuris and the Chambans to fish in the troubled waters, let alone the role played in future by Ranjit Dev of Jammu and his descendants. Probably, this state of affairs would never have come to be but for the reason that the Paramount Power in India itself was on the wane, and, the Valley of Kashmir which could have filled in the gap, was also torn by anarchy. Kashmir was then under the Durranis. At this hour of trial, good sense prevailed between the brothers so that both Saeedatmand Khan and Sojan Singh, who had obtained help from Kashmir and Jammu respectively, combined against the Chambans. As a result, Kishtwar was restored to its former position and Muhammad Sojan Singh ruled it for about half a decade (1779-84).

Muhammad was succeeded by his son Inayatullah Singh whom he had left at Jammu in lieu of the military assistance rendered by the Dogras. Raja Ranjit Dev had put him behind the bars twice during his own illness. Meanwhile, after Muhammad

Sojan, two stopgap princes, Prithi and Ajit, rose to the Gaddi, but the latter was removed by Lal Dev Dogra under the 'orders' of Ranjit Dev himself. For a couple of years, Lal Dev ruled in Kishtwar somewhat harshly. When his oppression reached its height, the Kotwals and Kanthi and Saraj went to Jammu and managed the escape of their prince from the Bahu fortress. Having liberated Inayatullah from the captivity, they organised and equipped a force to extirpate Lal Dev. Inayatullah was a man of realism, scholarship and great ability. He first received the homage from the headmen and chiefs in his lawful territories and then declared himself the Raja. In his time Kishtwar and Kashmir were brought closer in that he called on the Durrani Governor, Nawab Azad Khan, at Lesar. He was properly rewarded and a representative, Allama Hafiz Hafizullah was deputed to Kishtwar.

Raja Inayatullah was assassinated by his cousin Gulab Singh with the connivance of Pirzada Nur- ud-Din and Bahadur Shah (a fugitive from the Kashmir Valley). But the murderers were killed shortly after. His son Muhammad Tegh Singh, succeeded to the Gaddi but being a minor, his own aunt Anwar Dai Begum, became the regent. She worked efficiently for twelve years and at one time saved the state from the Chamban intruders. On her death, Muhammad Tegh, assumed rulership at the age of fourteen. It is an irony of history that a powerful Raja like Muhammad Tegh should have preferred to terminate his old and worthy line in Kishtwar. One cannot but appreciate his having emerged as a successful leader from the long struggle against his enemies. In times of peace as well, he showed much of capability and strength in so far as he organised a large army to employ it in implementing his plan of conquest and in expanding and defending his territory He could even maintain and entertain Shah Shuja, the fugitive ruler of Afghanistan The Shah stayed in Kishtwar for two and a half years and Raja Tegh assisted him in his attempts at conquering Kashmir Valley. He also sent military succour to Abdullah Khan who had declared his independence and against whom the then Shah of Kabul, Timur, had deputed a large army. All along, Muhammad Tegh worked hard to give peace and prosperity to his people. It is believed that his administration was just and efficient and that in the fulfilment of his duties, he was assisted by both the Hindu and Muslim advisers.

In this brief account of the rulers of Kishtwar a very important point is that which concerns the borders of the said State. Muhammad Tegh's political authority extended nearly to all the areas comprising now the district of Doda. Actually, the process of integration was started under Muhammad Sojan who took over Banihal. In his territory was included Dengbuttal too. Thus the extent of his dominion was from the areas of Nagsen to Denghbuttal in length and from Chaugan to Pargana Bonju in breadth. This is the view of Molvi Hashmatuallah. Muhammad Sojan's areas of control were wider than those of any other ruler beyond his southern or western borders. Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu, on the surrender of Raja Tegh, had gained territories more extensive than his own. According to Hashmatullah, the latter's state was equal in area or measurement to modern tehsils of Ramban and Kishtwar. The inhabitants of Banihal, Dengbuttal, Pogal and of the hamlets surrounding them, had renewed their allegiance to Muhammad Tegh. As for Bhaderwah, it was recovered from some insurgents by Mian Mirza Shah with the assistance of wazir Lakhpat. According to T.G. Vigne, who visited the region under reference in 1838, Bhaderwah was captured by the Durrani forces (during Abdullah Khan's governorship in Kashmir) and it was restored to the original owners (the Rajas of Kishtwar). Muhammad's authority was effectively felt as far as Paddar and Zanaskar. Mr. Vigne states that "the frontier of the latter province (i.e. Kishtwar) was at one time extended to that of Ladakh, by the possession of Murduwan and Suru".

Though a powerful Raja and with larger territories under his charge, Muhammad Tegh Singh could not withstand the Dogra challenge. The real causes of his failure were his pleasure-seeking and the intrigues of some his own men. Probably, he would have successfully fought the invader but the unexpected defection of Wazir Lakhpat sealed his fate. He had, moreover, displeased the Sikh Ruler, Ranjit Singh by assisting Shah Shuja. His own community (of Kashmiris) would have possibly come to his rescue but it too had fallen a prey to internal disorder in the parent Valley. The result was that Gulab Singh struck at an opportune moment and annexed the state of Kishtwar. Muhammad Tegh did not accept any terms of either of the Dogras or of the Sikhs. Instead, he went to live at Lahore where he died disappointed. He left three sons but none of them was capable. None of them could therefore recover the lost dominions.

CHAPTER 26

The Advent of Islam in Kashmir

—DR. SHEIKH MOHD. IQBAL

The greater Valley of Kashmir got its unforgettable lessons in Islam, from the man of miracles, Sayyid Ali Hamadani by name. He was one of the greatest missionaries, Islam has produced in the Middle Ages. A devout and pious Muslim, he possessed an indomitable will and was a scholar of very high order. Millions turned Muslims in Central Asia and Kashmir as a result of his well-planned mission. And whichever people he converted to his faith, he left them dedicated to it, and ideologically well founded. Therefore, Islam's period of supremacy starts with the arrival in the Valley of Sayyid Ali Hamadani, popularly known as Hazrat Amir Kabir. His repeated visits to Kashmir and the legacies of his marvellous work at once form the brightest chapter in the religious annals of this beautiful region. Yet, one wonders at the successes of this great representative of the universal message of Islam. He had in his company an army of saints and not an army of savages. The effect of his mission was so overwhelming that it continues to this day despite the superficial adherence of the later Kashmiri generations to Islam.

In relevance to our study, a useful instance of conversion to Islam is that presented by Kishtwar, which is a replica of Kashmir in almost all its aspects of life and natural surroundings. No army went there to forcibly convert the Rajas and the ruled. It was during the Mughal period that only two wonderful walis Shah Farid-ud-Din and Shah Asrar-ud-Din with a few godly men brought the entire population to the threshold of Islam.

Peaceful propagation seems to have started decades before Hazrat Amir Kabir. A number of zealous men travelled the difficult routes to reach Kashmir, of whose people acknowledge with gratitude the debt that they owe to Bulbul Shah. Yet centuries before, Islam had knocked at the bolted (opened occasionally) doors of the Valley, through its Arab and Ajamite envoys. In the first century Hijrah, Islam spread to the far west and the East. One of the reputed commanders of the Umayyad Power, Qatibah bin Muslim Al-Bahili, conquered parts of Central Asia and even some areas of Sinkiang and Turkistan. The brunt of Islam fell on the northern borders of Kashmir as well. Whether an Arab was a soldier, savant, sailor or traveller, he was always known for his curiosity to learn about new lands and peoples. The Arabs kept their spirits high in the challenging circumstances. They could hardly believe that Kashmir was a forbidden seraglio. Some of them visited it and even stayed for some time. But the real efforts of penetrating into the heart of Kashmir was made through the routes very much uncommon and inaccessible.

Evidence, which can hardly be set aside as incredible, goes to reveal that in 97 A.H. an Arab Muslim, Hameem by name, was the first visitor who belonged to the Arab race.[1] It was a matter of chance, however, as the Arabs won a decisive victory in the Sindh, Raja Dahir's son, ran away and found shelter with the then ruler of Kashmir and received an estate. The fugitive prince told the Raja that he had with him an Arab of Muslim denomination. Hameem was then allowed to settle in a part of Srinagar which, as will be seen, was known as Malchamar.

In 712 A.D., Muhammad bin Qasim founded Muslim Rule in India for the first time. His plan of conquest was extensive. But this could not be implemented owing to the sudden recall of the boy-general by the ungrateful Caliph. Yet Muhammad's forces advanced on Gandhara region. The Arab troops returned through the southern ravines of Kashmir and subdued some of the tribes bordering on the Valley. This is proved by the fact that the contemporary Raja Candrapida of Kashmir appealed to the Chinese for help as he heard about the approaching Arab army.

In 751 A.D., the Arabs compelled the Chinese to evacuate Gilgit. Subsequently, under Caliph Mamun (813-33 A.D.), relations with the Tibet and its neighbouring rulers were strengthened by the Arab-Islamic Power. These Agreements must have affected Kashmir in one way or the other. In 142 A.H., Caliph Mansur deputed Hisham ibn Amr al-Thalabi as Governor of the Sindh. The latter on his arrival sent Amr bin Jamal to Gujarat coastal area and himself led an expedition to the northern area which he subdued. This and other events relating to the Arab conquest have been mentioned in **Futuh-ul-Buldan**, the monumental compilation of Ahmed bin Yahya al-Baladuri (d. 279 A.H.). In the time of Caliph Hisham, one Junaid was sent as Governor of the Sindh. He invaded Kashmir but Lalitaditya proved stronger at the time. Hence the Arab attempt at conquest did not bear any results.

Besides these military movements, private men seem to have paid sudden and solitary visits to the Valley and the areas surrounding it. These adventurers and travellers must have come as a result of the Arab conquest in the south and the north of Kashmir. Otherwise, writers would not have mentioned it in their accounts. The first of these was Ibn Khirdazibah (d. 250 A.H.) who complied his marvellous book on the lands and the peoples (called **Al-Masalik wal-Mamalik**). He was the chief of the Department of Communications (Post Offices as well as Intelligence) under the Abbaside caliph, Mutamid of the 9th century Christian Era. Describing the Indian possessions he did not forget to refer to the regions of Kashmir and Gandhara. Most significant was the visit of Abu Dilf Mistar Bin Mihal Yanbu'i which took place between the years 331 and 377 A.H.[2] He had an interview in 331 A.H with Nasr Samani, the ruler of Bukhara. From there he went with a Chinese envoy to China. Among other lands he saw, was the Tibet. Then he moved into Kashmir wherefrom he went to the plains of the Punjab and the Sindh. The well-known author of **Al-Fihrst**, namely Mohammad bin Ishaq al-Nadim benefitted from Yanbui's experiences and also his written accounts which are no more available. What Misar had seen and recorded was reproduced by the famous writer. Shihab-ud-Din Abi Abdullah Yaqut (d. 626 A.H.) in his voluminous work, **Mujam-ul-Buldan**. An Anonymous poet-visitor also spoke of his enjoyments in Kashmir and other places. He too has been quoted by Yaqut He must have gone there during the same period (or after) when Mistar visited the Valley.

By the time Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni appeared on the political scene of the subcontinent and seven scores of years before he led his expeditions, Muslim influences and individuals seem to have crept into Kashmiri society. The Muslim ways of life were willingly encouraged and adopted by the people and their rulers. This would imply that the ancient Kashmiris had since come across the Muslim traders and travellers and were impressed by their qualities and social virtues. There was, as we have already referred to. a colony of Muslims in Srinagar known as Malchamar.[3] Kalhana records that Lalitaditya's son Vajraditya "sold many men to mleechas" and even introduced into the country practices which "befitted the mleechas". Raja Harsha (1089-1101) known for his anti-Hindu policy, employed Turkish (Turushkas) soldiers and under Muslim influence adopted elaborate fashions, and dress and garment. During the reign of Biksacara (1120-21) Muslim soldiers were recruited and sent on an expedition against Sussala in Lohara. From the Accounts of Morcopolo, the Venetian traveller, it can be concluded that already by the end of the 13th century, Muslims had begun to settle in Kashmir. He wrote that the people of the Valley did not kill birds and animals, and if they wished to take meat, they engaged the 'Saracens', who lived among them, to play the butcher. These Saracens could be either the emigrants from far off lands or the converts from among the locals or those who came from the Punjab and the Sindh.

Two vital questions will continue to baffle even the adroit among modern researchers who wish to know the antecedants of Islam in Kashmir. The first is how was it possible to effect

Muslim settlement in the Valley. The second is how and why did Islam become popular in Kashmir at an unprecedented speed. There can be more than a couple of answers to the first question. The Buddhist-cum-Hindu society had since begun to succumb to stagnation and ritualism. Hieun Tsang, the Chinese scholar, who was on his way to the imperial Court of Harsha (607-642 A.D.), visited and stayed in Kashmir sometime in 631-33 A.D., regretted that Buddhism was losing ground. Actually, the Hindu rulers of the time were, perhaps carefully, striving for a religious and cultural synthesis of the two ancient religions of India. This was purely a Kashmiri experiment which became manifest in the arts of sculpture and architecture. But the outcome of these efforts, even though tolerent, was the extinction of Buddhism which owed its disappearance to many other causes varying from violence to the vehicle of the forces of change. But when another Chinese visitor, Ou-K'ong came in 759-63 A.D. he saw Buddhism in an apparently flourishing state. Yet, as the decades and scores of years rolled on, Shaivism survived the faith of Buddha, and it was the former with which Islam had to deal. As for the earliest colonisation of Kashmir by Muslims, historical evolution had to play its natural role. The original creeds and the communities of the Valley had grown so sterile, stale and unresponsive that they needed to be revolutionised. The revolution from within was impossible at the stage. A spark from outside was required to ignite the explosives accumulated in the course of centuries. The spark was provided by the latest and the last of the editions of Prophet Abraham's Faith, the human adherents of which had taken their position at the gates of this beautiful land. Many local inhabitants and their leaders did not abhor Muslim ways and virtues. Hence the reason why the followers of Islam were accommodated.

As regards the second question—why so speedy a success in Islamicising Kashmir—history again owes an answer to us and it must needs come to the rescue of the research scholar. Records reveal it that the invasions of the Mongols, one under Zuljoo and the other under the command of Qaan, played havoc with the Kashmiri population. Before them, Sultan Mahmud had attempted at gaining control over the Valley but he withdrew from Loharkot which fortress guarded the Tosamaidan pass. His invasions brought with them the ingredients of a culture and civilisation of which Kashmir Valley was deprived for some time. On the other hand, the Mongols were brutes. They devastated peaceful villages and the prosperous towns, killing thousands of innocent civilians with utter disregard for human values. When (Munko) Qaan made inroads into the 'happy' Valley, Ramadev was its ruler. According to Rashid-ud-Din Fazlullah, they repeated the invasion, destroyed the standing crops and houses, looted property and killed old and young indiscriminately. Ramadev could not survive the catastrophe. He was succeeded by Lakhshmandev under the orders of Qaan and Halaku Khan. The invasion of Zuljoo (according to one account Zul Qadr Khan) and the grandson of Halaku was more damaging, socially, politically and economically. He let loose tyranny and tortured everyone whom his troops (numbering 70,000) captured and whoever came in their way. The ruler, Simha Deva, escaped to Kishtwar, leaving his subjects to their fate. Luckily, Zuljoo, decided to leave the Valley. But while crossing the highlands of Devasar, all the Mongols as well as their Kashmiri captives were destroyed in the bitter cold caused by the heavy snowstorm.

The effect of these Mongol invasions was most adverse on the Valley or rather on the kingdom. Hasan Gamroo, on the authority of an authentic evidence, bewails the consequences of loot and destruction :

> After the annihilation of these vicious invaders, the survivors in Kashmir came out from their hideouts in the hills and found no relative or friend alive. Only a hundred men were seen living in distress. These men rebuilt their fallen habitations, while there were only eleven persons who resumed the work of reconstruction (in the city).

It can well be imagined how tragic the aftermath of the terrible calamities could be. In sum, Kashmir was in a hopeless state until, it is claimed, the establishment of a stable Government, infused with the spirit of true Islamic tolerance.

However, full prosperity and peace was regained in its actuality in the illustrious reigns of Sultan Sikandar and Zain-ul-Abidin Budshah.

The effect on the minds of the survivors was deep. The man in the street and the tiller in the country-side felt himself resourceless both materially and spiritually. Disappointed with his lot, he had turned to be depressed within and demoralised without. When tragedies overtake families, they find people to sympathise with them. But there was none to help keep up their spirits. For them, it was the question of how to adjust themselves in bewildering conditions and start the new chapter of their life. They and their immediate forbears had seen much of religious practice and lives lived according to the tenets of the indigenous religions. In their state of confusion it was Islam and its votaries who came to their succour and freed them from their collective numbness. And as they had already experienced the sweetness of contacts with the Muslims, most of them welcomed to get themselves admitted to the community of Islam. But, astonishingly, the process of conversion began with the ruler of the kingdom and not the peoples he ruled. And this by all estimates was a miraculous event in the annals of Kashmir.

As the Mongol hordes entered the Valley, Simha Deva the ruling monarch took refuge in Chota Kashmir (as Kishtwar is called). His Commander-in-Chief, Ramchandra Raina fortified himself at Gaganger (Lar) with Rinchen and Shah Mirza (the former being a Tibetan Prince and the latter from Turkistan) who had decided to resides in Kashmir. The Mongol invaders having disappeared from the scene of action, the effects of their violence became manifest. The administration was paralysed, there being none to look after public affairs. Rinchen keenly watched the situation and marked the pace of developments. He is reported to have murdered Ramchandra Raina in his fortress and assumed the royal insignia. He appointed Shah Mirza as his Commander-in-Chief and installed Ravanchandra, the son of the former Senapati as Prime Minister. Ramachandra's daughter, Kota Rani became the queen of the new political head.

Rinchen, well-known as Rinchen Shah, was originally a Budhist. But he seemed to be in search of a spring at which he could quench his spiritual thirst. It is probable that he also needed to consolidate his political power with the help of a rejuvenated and united society. His wife was a Hindu. This created another confusion in his mind. To get himself out of the involvement, he (and perhaps his wife too) decided that they would accept the religion of a person whom they would first see the following morning, and preferably in a state of worship. Next day, the king opened the window and beheld a man on the other side of the Jelham praying in different postures. The devotee was seen by him standing, kneeling and then touching the ground with his forehead. Rinchen Shah wondered at this manner of devotion to the Lord and especially as the man had no idol in front of him. To know who the worshipper was, to acquaint himself with his creed and to understand the significance of his prayers and its content, the king crossed the river and made enquiries from him. The man replied that his name was Sharf-ud-Din (held in esteem to this day as Bulbul Shah) and his faith was Islam. Rinchen, together with Ravanchandra and many officials and servants of the State accepted Islam in 726 A.H. He rechristened himself as Sadr-ud-Din. But evidence does not favour the view that his queen, Kota Rani, too, was converted to her husband's new religion.[4]

Two deficiencies in the local socioreligious order seem to have obliged Rinchen to get himself admitted into the fold of Islam. One is that Budhism had failed to guide his wandering soul. As for Hinduism, the religion of his wife, it was not practised then so seriously. Division and ritualistic ostentation had eaten into the vitals of Hindu society. The brutality and the violence of the Mongols under Zuljoo, had destroyed the social fabric of Kashmiris and put an end to their coherence. Different religious beliefs separated man from his fellowbeings and the family from the other. Such a situation was likely to endanger the power and pedestal of king Sadr-ud-Din (Rinchen). He was perhaps convinced that one religion and one community within Kashmir could be a panacea for the ills of the State and its people. Prior to the emergence of

Islam as a political power, it had been the tradition in the subcontinent, that the subjects adopted, the religion of their sovereigns. This time-honoured practice was repeated by some of Kashmiris. They followed in the footsteps of Rinchen Shah.

Sadr-ud-Din's reign was disappointingly short. It lasted two years and seven months. But he did some good work after his conversion. He constructed the first **Khanqah** for his religious preceptor, Bulbul Shah, on the bank of the Jehlum near Ali Kadal. He also founded and inaugurated a Langar (Public Diner) for the needy and the indigent. The particular locality in which it was situated is presently known as Bulbul Lankar. Close to the Khanqah was built a congregational mosque (Jama Masjid) where king Sadr-ud-Din offered his Friday prayers. As this mosque was gutted, a new one, though of smaller dimensions was built by the ruler. Its remains are still visible and is known as Rentan Masjid. The king on his death was laid to rest on the southern side of **Khanqah** Bulbul Shah. The latter himself passed away in 727 A. H., according to Mohammad Azam Dedamari. His tomb is built of larger stone blocks and exists on the eastern side of the Jelham near Ali Kadal and very near to the resting place of Mulla Ahmed.

Sadr-ud-Din's sudden demise must have slowed down the pace of Muslim missionary activity in Kashmir. There was effected a political change-over, for Udhamdev the brother of Sahdev assumed power. He married Kota Rani and this marital union made a Hindu political interregnum possible. But Udhamdev's reign was very brief. A Mongol incursion took place in his time under Qurdal from Turkistan. The intruders entered Kashmir through Hirapur and the ruler fled to Ladakh through the mountaineous terrain of Zojilla. This provided to the Muslim element another chance to revive its hegemony over Kashmir. The time Shah Mirza alias Shahmir, who had continued in his position as the Commander-in-Chief, tackled the situation dexterously and wisely. He addressed messages to the prominent men and appealed their conscience to rise to the occasion. Receiving assurances from them of their collaboration, he compelled Qurdal and his troops to withdraw. This enabled Udhamdev to return home but he died in 743 A.H. after a reign of fifteen years. In the same year, Shahmir ascended the throne, assuming the title of Shams-ud-Din. This event, on which much cannot be written here, changed the political fate of Kashmir and its people for over four hundred years. Simultaneously, with this peaceful revolution began the ascendancy of Islam, not because of the rules but because of the saintly missionaries who started to visit the Valley, the first among them being Sayyid Husain Samnani and his pious companions.

Sultan Shams-ud-Din died in 747 A.H. and his body was laid to rest at Sumbal. He ruled for over three years and a half, He was succeeded by his two sons, Jamshid and Alau-ud-Din and their reigns lasted about fourteen years. In 761 A.H., Shahab-ud-Din the son of Alau-ud-Din became the Sultan and he governed Kashmir for less than a score of years. In 780 A.H., his brother Qutb-ud-Din became king, and from the angle of religious transformation his period is most significant. It was during his reign that mass conversion of Kashmiris was possible owing to the dynamic leadership of Hazrat Amir Kabir who had come at the head of a great spiritual mission of which the basic aim was to invite the inhabitants of the Valley to the ranks of Islam. Needless to repeat that the portion of the era of the Sultans down to the accession of Qutb-ud-Din did not show any remarkable progress in the advance of Muslim faith. The reason why Islam could not make a headway in Kashmir was that after the passing away of Sharf-ud-Din (Bulbul Shah) no important missionary took the trouble of conducting the Islamic mission with the exception of Sayyid Husain Samnani. The Sayyid worked streneously and witnessed part of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din's reign. Nevertheless, it was pre-ordained that a more forceful representative of Islam should perform the distinct role of rallying the downtrodden and the uncared—for to his spacious umbrella, to receive peace and protection that the faith could offer. It was purely a personal achievement of Sayyid Ali Hamadani that he turned a minority of his co-religionists into a majority by his determined and dedicated effort, by immaculate missionary planning, by his piety, effective preaching and compelling personality which was endowed with miracles. The State-head did not probably play any significant part in the conversion of his subjects. The only thing that Qutb-ud-Din (as Prime Minister or a Sultan) did, according to the author of **Baharistan-Shahi** was to accord to the saint (Amir Kabir) a reverential welcome.

This should bring us to the conclusion of the first part of the present study. But one point remains to be examined. Historians are not sure about the actual date and year of the arrival of Hazrat Sayyid Ali Hamadani. Some have given 773 A. H. as the year of his first visit. Yet other historians have mentioned 781 and 783 A. H. Mohammad Azam of *Waqiat-i-Kashmir* has failed to give us a correct date. One view is that the scholar-saint came in 781 and left in 786 A.H. This would mean that he stayed in Kashmir for about six years which is unbelieveable. A missionary of his status could have hardly found so much of time in a limited area where he could realise his aim within the shortest span of time. His services were required elsewhere in the wider world. It is, however, convenient to agree to the unanimous opinion of several Kashmiri historians that Hazrat Sayyid Ali Hamadani visited Kashmir three times. And when he was returning from this land of ours—a land that is symbolic of his outstanding merit, his zeal and success—he reached **Bueri** wherefrom he decided to proceed to Mecca. But as the ruler, Khizr Shah, requested him to stay on so that he and his people could benefit from his teachings. It was there that the Amir breathed his last and went to meet his Lord.

FOOT NOTES

1. This is the view of some of the Kashmiris not excluding the serious among them. I have benefitted on this point from the personal notes of Abdul-Gaffar Majboor, a retired official of State Customs Department. This gentleman, a devout Muslim, originally from Islamabad and residing now near Shahi Masjid is well-known for his literary bent of mind and for his interest in Kashmirology. He owned thousands of books on the various subjects which perished in a fire accident together with his residence a few years ago.

2. This eminent Arabian traveller most probably belonged to the present town of Yanbu' in Saudi Arabia which is regarded as the seaport of the Prophet's City (Madinah).

3. Muslims were known as *Mleechas* being then foreigners. Even today, in New Delhi, a sector of Chanakyapuri is known as Malcha Marg, because there are located foreign embassies.

4. That Rinchen simply accepted Islam on having liked the Muslim prayers as offered by Bulbul Shah is not convincing. He was probably in know of Islamic system of worship as he had already been in touch with some Muslims, particularly Shah Mirza with whom he had taken refuge in Lar. It can well be concluded that Shah Mirza did say his daily prayers and Rinchen must have been influenced accordingly. In actual fact, he seems to have decided that he would accept the religion of one whom he would see first the next morning. On this point W.R. Lawrence in The Valley of Kashmir (page 190) observes :
"At this time it would appear that there was much confusion in the matter of religion in Kashmir, and Rainchan Shah, who had no strong convictions, found

it necessary to adopt one or other of the various forms of faith which existed in the country. He could not become a Hindu because none of the Hindu castes would admit him to their brotherhood, so he determined to leave his religion to chance. One morning he saw Bulbul Shah at his prayers, and admiring that form of devotion, he decided on Islam.

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डाक्टर डिल्ली रमण रेग्मी, काठमाडौं, रेग्मी [illegible] पुस्तकालय

Sheikh Mohammad Iqbab (b. 1928) did his M.A. (History and Political Science combined) and Law from Aligarh Muslim University in 1949 and his doctorate from the School of International Studies, New Delhi in 1963.

He has had a vast and varied experience of research and teaching both in India and abroad. He was Principal Islamia College of Science and Commerce, Srinagar, during 1973-75. He is now Director, Libraries, Research and Museums and Archaeology, J & K.

His writings which include a number of books in English and Urdu are well-Known in the Islamic world.

K. L. Nirash (b. 1932) teaches English in a college in Srinagar, Kashmir. A free lance writer, his articles on literary and cultural subjects have appeared in a number of journals.

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